



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
ENGLISH FACULTY  
LIBRARY

ST. CROSS BUILDING, OXFORD

---

*This book is confined to  
the Library*

---

Most facsimile and limited editions, dictionaries, and bibliographical catalogues, are treated as reference books for use in the Library only, but in exceptional cases some of them are occasionally lent to Readers with special needs.

Any Reader with particular reasons for wishing to borrow a book which is ordinarily confined to the Library is invited to consult the Librarian.

D 7 MAI (31)



300149634U







**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS;**

**A FRAGMENT;**

**TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH  
OF ADAM BLACKWOOD.**



**PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,  
MDCCCXXXIV.**





**PRESENTED**

**TO THE**

**MAITLAND CLUB,**

**BY**

**ROBERT ADAM.**



# THE MAITLAND CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXXIV.

---

THE EARL OF GLASGOW,

[PRESIDENT.]

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.

ROBERT ADAM, ESQ.

JOHN BAIN, ESQ.

5 ROBERT BELL, ESQ.

SIR DAVID HUNTER BLAIR, BART.

WALTER BUCHANAN, ESQ.

THE MARQUESS OF BUTE.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, ESQ.

10 LORD JOHN CAMPBELL.

JOHN DONALD CARRICK, ESQ.

HENRY COCKBURN, ESQ.

JAMES DENNISTOUN, ESQ.

JAMES DOBIE, ESQ.

15 RICHARD DUNCAN, ESQ. [TREASURER.]

WILLIAM JAMES DUNCAN, ESQ.

JAMES DUNLOP, ESQ.

JAMES EWING, ESQ., LL.D.

KIRKMAN FINLAY, ESQ.

## THE MAITLAND CLUB.

---

- 20 REV. WILLIAM FLEMING, D.D.  
WILLIAM MALCOLM FLEMING, ESQ.  
JOHN FULLARTON, ESQ.  
RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE.  
JAMES HILL, ESQ.
- 25 LAURENCE HILL, ESQ.  
GEORGE HOUSTOUN, ESQ.  
JOHN KERR, ESQ. [VICE-PRESIDENT.]  
ROBERT ALEXANDER KIDSTON, ESQ.  
GEORGE R. KINLOCH, ESQ.
- 30 JOHN GIBSON LOCKHART, ESQ., LL.B.  
ALEXANDER MACDONALD, ESQ.  
WILLIAM MACDOWALL, ESQ.  
THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL MACFARLAN, D.D.  
ANDREW MACGEORGE, ESQ.
- 35 ALEXANDER MACGRIGOR, ESQ.  
DONALD MACINTYRE, ESQ.  
JOHN WHITEFOORD MACKENZIE, ESQ.  
GEORGE MACINTOSH, ESQ.  
ALEXANDER MACNEILL, ESQ.
- 40 JAMES MAIDMENT, ESQ.  
THOMAS MAITLAND, ESQ.  
WILLIAM MEIKLEHAM, ESQ.  
WILLIAM HENRY MILLER, ESQ.  
WILLIAM MOTHERWELL, ESQ.
- 45 WILLIAM MURE, ESQ.  
ALEXANDER OSWALD, ESQ.  
JOHN MACMICHAN PAGAN, ESQ., M.D.  
WILLIAM PATRICK, ESQ.  
EDWARD PIPER, ESQ.

## THE MAITLAND CLUB.

---

- 50 ROBERT PITCAIRN, ESQ.  
JAMES CORBET PORTERFIELD, ESQ.  
HAMILTON PYPER, ESQ.  
PHILIP A. RAMSAY, ESQ.  
JOHN RICHARDSON, ESQ.
- 55 WILLIAM ROBERTSON, ESQ.  
ANDREW SKENE, ESQ.  
JAMES SMITH, ESQ.  
JOHN SMITH, ESQ.  
JOHN SMITH, YGST., ESQ. [SECRETARY.]
- 60 WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ.  
GEORGE SMYTHE, ESQ.  
MOSES STEVEN, ESQ.  
DUNCAN STEWART, ESQ.  
SYLVESTER DOUGLAS STIRLING, ESQ.
- 65 JOHN STRANG, ESQ.  
THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ.  
PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.  
ADAM URQUHART, ESQ.  
SIR PATRICK WALKER.
- 70 WILSON DOBIE WILSON, ESQ.





THE mutilated historical fragment here given, from the only Manuscript known to exist, is a translation of the work entitled "Martyre de Marie Stuart Royne d'Escosse et Douariere de France ; par Adam Blacvod, Conseiller du Roy au siege presidial de Poitiers." It was first published anonymously in the year 1587, and passed rapidly through several editions ; owing its celebrity more, perhaps, to the intense interest of the subject, than to the intrinsic weight or merit of the composition.

His occasional employment in negociations in behalf of the Queen of Scots, and his intimate connection with the Archbishop of St Andrews, had certainly afforded the author the means of access to correct information ; but Blackwood's object was not that of writing a faithful history, but an eloquent panegyric on the virtues of his royal mistress, an indignant exposure of her sufferings, and an unsparing invective on the atrocities of her whom he regarded as the relentless persecutor and murderer of the unfortunate Mary. In these respects, his zeal and his passions had plainly hurried him far beyond the bounds of decency or discretion ; and the remark of Jebb, the latest editor of

Blackwood's tract, will be generally admitted as just : " Dum prae fer-  
 " vidioris animi impetu Elizabetham Angliae Reginam, tam virulento  
 " insectitur calamo, dum facta illa et falsissima de Henrici VIII. et  
 " Annæ Boulennæ incestuosis amoribus historiae suae inserat, id quidem  
 " fere efficit, ut dicendo nimium nihil dixerit."

On comparing the French and English copies of the work, it will be found that the translation is not always very close or very accurate ; and that, in the English copy, names, circumstances, and remarks, not indeed of much importance, are occasionally introduced, which are not to be found in the original. The Manuscript, which is obviously of the latter part of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century, was latterly in the possession of the late Mr Dillon, a member of the Club, but of its previous history he has not left any notice.

The French work of Blackwood is so easily accessible, that it has not been deemed worth while to attempt a translation or to reprint the original of the parts which are here wanting ; which at the beginning extend to about twenty-five pages, and at the end to more than sixty pages of the edition of his works published at Paris in 1644. Between these two deficiencies, however, there is this difference, that the first nine leaves of the manuscript have evidently been lost or destroyed ; but that it had never been continued beyond the point where it now terminates.



# HISTORY

## OF

### MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

ON the other fide, he extolled the name of Steward, ther auncient waloure, ther wertue, and the long time that they had reigned, and what misfortune it wer if the croune should be taken from ther heade, and giwen to another surname. To remedie such an inconvenient, and to reteine the memorie of her maiesties selff and her noble auncestouris, (all which was speeche too pleasinge and curreinge fawoure,) he wished with all his heart that shee wold tie and ioine the croune to foure houses of the name of Stewarde, and substitute them one after another, in case her maiestie should decease not leawinge anie roiale issue of her bodie. The foze thoughte with him selff he might easelie obtain this request, and that he should not feill to be first nominated him selff, consideringe the lowe that shee bare him in giwinge him the authoritie in the realme, he beinge of her surname, and therwithall the reputed naturall sonne of King James 5, her late deceased father. But her

Maiestie was not so simple or onadvised but shee presentlie conceiued whither the impudencie of this demaunde tended ; for if shee had then graunted it, shee knewe this substitution wold have beene her ruine, knowing the men that wer nominated, but her base brother speciallie, who was first in ordour, to be in natour so ambitious that he wold hawe no pacience till he had killed her Maiestie, either with poyson, fworde or by some other indirect, oblique and finifter meanes, to compasse his designed enterprife. But this her intention the Queene did werie wittellie cower and excuse in regarde of her minoritie, and for the obligatioun shee was bound in to those to whome the course of nature after her death had allotted the croune.

By this aunswere the Bastarde weeke perceiwinge that he could not corrupt the goode meaninge of the Queene concerninge the house of Hammilton as nearest to the Roiale familie, and that shee was so jealous for the greatnes and advancement of her lafull heires, that shee wold neuer permitt that by this substitution the course of the auncient lawes of the croune should be stopped concerninge the lafull and naturall succession, he devised one meane whereby he thought to abolishe all the race of the Hamiltons, and to hinder her Maiestie that shee should not marie, and in so doinge in the end to inuest him selff in the possession of the croune ; and the meanes was the restitution of the house of Lenox ; but the mater hapned quite otherwise : he knewe the deadlie spite that was betuene the house of Lenox and the house of Hammilton, and for that cause the Earle of Lenox retired him selff into England, and had ther continewed so longe that he was not nowe taken for a Scottishman, but for a natural subiect and wassale of Elizabeth, hawinge married within her dominions ; of the which mariage he had two sonnes aliue, the Lord Dernelie his eldest sone beinge then ten or twelue yeares olde, one of the goodeliest Princes that ewer man sett his eyes vpon ; the other was Lord Charles, a goodlie younge gentleman of greate future hope also. The

Bastarde, (whome hencefoorth throughout this Historie we will name Murraie, seeinge other writers, and those speciallie of his cuntrie call him so) hawinge hindered her Maiestie to joine herself in mariage with anie forrenner beyonde seas, or to allea her selff with anie of greate mighte that fought her mariage, thinkinge to keepe her fruitlesse in her bodie and without issue or heire to the croune, and yeet thinkinge he could hardlie so keepe her, such was the youngnes of her yeares honoured with excellent beautie, but at lenth by the commone consent of her nobilitie shee wold seeke for her selff a fitte peere, offered and propounded vnto her the mariage of this younge Prince, not intendinge that the mariage should go forward, but onlie to turne her from the conceate of anie other more mightie : and to maske and to cower his purpose, which was in no waies to suffer her to marie : all this was done, and he sett these reasons doune for certane motiues to hinder the intended mariage, he him selff beinge the first propounder and authour theroff. Firft, he held it sure that shee should neuer marie with this younge Prince for the proximitie and nearnes of bloode, they beinge cusinge germanes ; and fecundlie, for the inequalitye that was betuine him and them that offered them selues to her, and so if it hapned to fall out, that shee should marie him, he assured him selff he could frustrate her by lettes and impedimentes he could procure from Elizabeth out of England. Beholde then howe he offereth this prince to her Maiestie, thinkinge werelie that she should refuse him ; and in refusinge him he thought then werie redelie to plaie his parte, and keepe her from any prince that might in anie time after come to restraine and bridle him, or make him to liue vnder anie lawe but in so farre as him selff best listed.

The Queene had neuer dreamed of the Lord Dernelie, nor yeet of the Earle of Lenox his father, when Murraie and his complices first proposed it ; speakinge of him werie honourable, and extollinge him aboue the skies, he wished her to call home his father from exile, not to the intent

shee should take his sonne for her husband, but to iuse him to serue ther turne, and that they might hawe meanes to propose sune against the potent House of Hammilton after he wer by ther meanes insinuated wee into her fawour, who being ignorant to what these greates commendatiouns did tend, suffered them to speake without anie more to do, till vpon a certaine time after that his father was restored to his honour and his goodes they presented the sonne before her, when shee seeinge him beautifull and of good grace, weebebelowed also as by Murraie and by some of the cheiffe of the nobilitie whom they had commended asweele absent as present, so much declared his wertues as they did see no prince vnder the heawen more woorthie to be companion of her scepter, shee thinkinge that such speaches came asweele from ther heartes as from ther mouthes, beganne to receiue him into more fawoure then they wold hawe had him in that had made a sporte and game of him, and so sufferinge her selfe to be owercome by litle and litle, resolweth to affociate him to her roiale person. But Murraie and his complices, that it was in goode earnest, and that ther was no more ieastinge, was like to burste for werie malice, and biting ther fingers and blaminge ther folies, and blamed ewerie where the lightnes of ther Mistres that had suffered her selfe so to be caried awaie with ther persuations: and yeet the subtile traitour made a faire shoue before her, feineinge that the mater wold do weele wheroff he him selfe not thinkinge was the first authoure: But knowinge it was all contrarie to his designes, he endewoured and lauboured by all meanes possible vnderhand to breake the blowe he had stricken; yeet [all] the cunninge he could iuse in Scotland was to no purpose: and therefore he addresseth him selfe to England with manie thousandes of accusatiounes and false reportes against the Lord Dernelie and his father, which for breuitie I omitt, thinkinge that by Elizabethes commaundement they wold desist.

Elizabeth sendeth into Scotland Mr Throgmorton her ambassadour,

who leste no thinge vndone to disguste the Queene of the lowe of this young Prince. But the mutuall affection of the two lowers had alredie taken roote so deepe in ther heartes, that it was not possible by evil reportes or threatninges of anie in the world to displant it. Her Maiestie thought not ther was anie in the Realme that disliked this mariage, being mowed therto by her bastarde brother that could do all by the most part of the nobilitie, whose praiers hawe almost a forme of constraint. The onlie impediment which shee founde in it was consanguinitie, wherewith the Pope had dispensed. When the mariage was vpon the point to be confirmed, see howe Murraie and his complices wer enraged; they runne to open force, and thinke to kille the Lord Dernelie and his father at ther returne from St Johnston to Edinburgh, and to confine the Queene, whome they wold accompanie, to perpetuall prison to the castle of Lochleawen perteninge to the bellie brother of Murraie. The place apointed for the assaulte was the church neare Lochlewen, which they had executed onles they had staied vpon the cominge of the Earle of Argile, one of the principall of the conspiracie: the goodman of Douhill, by name Lindeleie, had aduertised her Majestie, and made her hasten her pace on her jornie. The Earle of Rothus, who was brother in lawe to Lochleawen, tooke remission for hawinge a complice in this conspiracie, and the other seeinge that they had so manifestlie stumbled, albeit of the fidelitie and clemencie of the Queene redier to pardone then they wer to entreate, notwithstandinge all this, grew desperate like Judas, and did resolwe to followe ther purpose, confoundinge heawen and earth to cause the breach of this mariage so farre prejudiciall to ther tyrannie: for to hawe gone about to execut such a treason, and to plaie with ther mistres, without endinge ther action and interprise, they thought it was to make the rope should strangle them selwes, or whett the kniffe should cutte ther owen throates. They purposed not therfore to holde ther armes acrosse; and to go on by open

warre they thought best ; and to drawe the commone people, too prompte of nature to rebellion, they caused it to be published throughout all Scotland that the Lord Dernelie was a papist, as was also his father and mother, and that the Queene had for no other cause married him then to extirpat the faithfull professours of the true religioun, and to overthrowe the state of the realme established with the perill of ther liues and of ther fortunes, and that fore to bringe this designe to passe intended, they had secrete intelligences and preparatiouns nowe ordered in Fraunce, a thinge which they ought not, nor should, nor yeet could suffer, not onlie in regard of ther persons and estates, but for the maintenance and honour of God in the profession of a pure and true religion reformed by them. That ther persons, goodes and religion dependeth vpon the amitie by the deputies of Fraunce and England at the siege of Leith and since conferred by the States of Scotland, which at this present they wold corrupt and frustrate ; and that in this doinge ther processe wer alredie made as beinge attaint and conuict of treason against God and man, and no thinge was behind but the haulter : that they must of necessitie preuent the danger, seeinge they had no meanes to resist with might, if the Queene and her husband had neuer so litle aide of forren Princes, which they expected ewerie daie ; and for this respect, it was much better for them to assaile then to be assaulted, and be prewented by the tempest which they did see hang ower ther heade.

Heire you see the pretexte of abolishinge the amitie and ther reformed religion was a werie faire and stronge pretence to drawe much people to ther faction : but in so much as manie of the nobilitie had no interest therein, they adioined another clause which did touch the greater parte of the nobles of the realme, and that might giue them occasion to thinke of ther affairs ; giwinge them to understand, and liftinge it vp as an enseignie, that her Maiestie wold reuoke all the alienatiounes of domane by her made duringe her minoritie, which is a customarie thinge to

the Kinges of Scotland after they come to be tuintie yeares olde, as is to be seene in ther actes of Parliament ; and further declared vnto them her Maiesties intent to rewoke and annexe to the croune all and ewerie of the landes of the church possessed by the nobilitie, which was better then the two partes of the reveinue of all the realme, a thinge werie hurtfull to them to hawe so sweete a morfell pulled out of ther mouth, for they thought the rent of the church and all ecclesiasticall liwinges to be ther owen patrimonie, as they do yeet at this daie. Those reasons alledged by Murraie had some appearance, if the subiect had been true, principallie in regarde of religion : but the Queene neuer thought it, nor her husband, to truble the estate of the realme or of the religion which was then at her mariage, for shee sawe at that time no meanes in the world to remowe it. But on the contrarie they keepte not on ther promeses which they promised to her Maiestie by the Estates, wheroff we hawe spoken heirtofore, for it was agreed, that her Maiestie and those that followed her should not be trubled in the free exercise of ther religion ; and yeet hawinge but one preist, he was outraged and beaten before his mistres face, his ornamentes of the altar taken out of his hand by Murraie his followers, and if it be true which Buchanan wreteth in his historie, they thought to hawe proceeded against him to hawe punished him in such sorte as is ordained against idolatoures in the lawe of Moses, in which you maie weeie the meanes that this ladie had to effectuat that which these goode fellowes do mention heire. And yeet manie greate Lordes of greatest accompt, and namelie the Duke of Shetleroe, father to the Earle of Arran, suffered them selwes to be led by those cunnings that they tooke weapons in hand with Murraie, holdinge that true which he saide, because they sawe him gowerne the whole realme at his discretion, and believed that he knewe the greate parte of her secreet thoughtes. The thinge which principallie mowed them to followe him was the feare they had that all tragedies by them plaied in

Scotland was the absence of their mistress should be examined, if this lawe of amitie wer abolished. Beholde them therefore in a redines in armes to attend the armie of her Maiestie, and to bidde her battell at Glascowe bridge. Amongest others of their faction they had the Earle of Morton and the Lord Lindefay, who neuertheless feinyed him self to be for the Queene, and continowed on her side to haue the leadinge of the foirewarde, and at the first encounter he did flie and forsake her Maiestie, causing her to be taken if they came to hard blowes, but by Godis providence the conspiratouris wer afraied; for albeit they wer stronge enough to encounter with her Maiestie with the multitude of intelligences which they had yeet taken, I knowe with what panicke feare they durste not submitt the mater to be decided by one doubtfull battell, but fled awaie as they wer armed remowinge from place till they came into England, wher all traitoures ar welcum, cherished and receiued with honour and credite. The traitour sonne to a commone strumpet beinge ther, plaied the part of Coriolanus the Roman, sollicitinge Elizabeth to make warre vpon his soweraigne and sister against his natie cuntrie. But her counsell thought it not best for sawinge of charges to proceede to open warre, but onlie by stratagems and cunnings without expofinge them selues to so greate a multitude of men, to the hazarde of their lawes and troblinge of the two realmes, hawinge meanes to effectuat their designe in mowinge some sedition in the cuntrie, in the which the Kinge and his wife should be mingled and dewided for the two sewerall parties, which wold be a thinge that wold discower their mindes, and make a discorde and mortall diffention betuine them, and the meanes to take them boith, and to dispatch therby first the one and after the other.

Secretarie Cecile and Thomas Randolph knewe weele this plotte, who gawe adwise and counsell to dispatch out of hand and to committ the two cruell filthie murders we shall speake of heirafter. Morton



had credite in the courte, beinge lefte ther by the traitoures to giue intelligence howe all maters past there, and howe to betraie his mistres ; for they could not chuse a more fitte man than him to do such an act, who from his werie youth had beene renouned for his treacherie, and of whome his owen father had no goode opinion in his werie infancie : for at a certane time his nurse coming foorth with him in a garden, where his father was with some that had come to wifite him busie in talke, the nurse settinge doune the childe on the greene grasse, and not much mindinge him, the boie seeth a toade, which he snatched vp, and had eaten it all till a litle of the legges ; which when shee sawe, shee cried out, thinkinge he should hawe beene poisoned ; and shee takinge the legges of the toade that he had lefte as yeet oneatten, he cried out so loude and shrille, that his father and the other gentlemen who wer not farre hard the outcries, who send to see what should be the cause ; and when the messinger returned and tolde the mater as it hapned, in all haiste he come where his sonne was, and vnderstandinge as it was, he caussed giue the legges also, which he greedelie ate vp also ; which the father seeinge, said, The dewill chewe the or burste the, ther will newer come goode of the. As he prognosticated so it hapned ; for after, he was beheaded at Edinburghe, attainted and founde guiltie of heigh treason, for the murder of the King his maister. This gallant, then, as is saide, forsooke her Maiesties parte, and he following the courte plaied the flaiwe so weele, that he gott him selff to be ludged within the roiale palice of his mistres, it beinge a house of great receipte.

Within also ludged the Queenes Secretarie, Dauid Rizio, a Pedemontane, a man of greate and longe experience, and understoode best of anie ther the afares of the state, weele respected of his mistres for his singular witte, nowe beinge olde. He was a man of no beautie or outwarde shape, for he was mishapen, ewil fawoured, and in wifage werie blacke ; but for his fidelitie, wifdome, prudence,

wertue and his other goode partes and qualities of minde he was richlie adorned. His maister the King much hated him becaufe he was informed by the rebellis, he did what he could to establishe a fure amitie and freindshipe betwine him and the house of Hamilton, who had beene the cause of the banishment of his father the Earle of Lenox in England. An other cause whie he hated the Secretarie was, becaufe he refused to subscribe a conspiracie which the rebelles had drawine the King in, and made it knowen to the Queene. The conspiracie was thus : they did mowe the Kinge to resolue with himselff, to take upon himselff the authoritie and sole and the whole government, excluding the Queene, and to shutte her fast up in a stronge castle under the keeping of a stronge garde. This conspiracie being detected, as saide is, the Lord Ruthven one of the conspiratouris much hated the Secretarie for his fidelitie to his mistres ; albeit he durst not nor could not but disclose the treacherie intended to hir maiestie who did finde him and the conspiratouris together at councell within a litle cabinet, for which her husband was heighlie offended. Morton also doubting the provident foirfights of this man, he being contrarie to his designes, leaste he should be hindered in his courtes that wer not goode, did fullie resolue to kill him, and in so doinge, dexteroullie to execut the councell given him by Elizabethes councell of England so euil and cursed as might be dewised, onles it wer by disloiale traitouris that thinke ther is no goode onles they rewenge them selwes of them that be opposite to them. Morton commeth to the young prince (not greatlie beseene nor acquainted with the afaires of the commounewealth by reason of his younge and tender yeares,) he putteth in his heade to take the sole government vpon him, excluding the Queene from all authoritie, and by this means he should become greate and be respected, obeyed, and feared and honoured of all the kingdome ; in the which enterprife he wolde rine with him : it wer the best course to emancipat him selff out of

the handes of a woman, to whom it did not belonge to commaunde her husband, it beinge a thinge against nature that the henne should crowe before the cocke ; yea, against the commandement of the eternall God, that a man should be subiect to his wyffe, the man beinge the image of God, and woman the image of man. See heire the faire beginninge werie plausible in shewe to a yong gentleman of a loftie stomake, and that hath honour and greatnes bearinge in his heade, a thinge that commonlie befalleth the greatest spirites, as Plato and Tullie report, goode maisters of politie and gowernement of estates. At this werie same time, (to sett forwarde the enterprise,) the ministrie begann to preach against the gowernement of women, and Knox published a booke for this purpose.

So Morton perceiwinge the Prince gaiue eare to him, he passeth further, and putteth into his heade, that the Secretarie of whome we hawe spoken, was more familiar with the Queene then was for his honour to suffer, and for the maiestie of the crowne to endure it ; and that it was this Dauid that perswaded her not to yeelde vp her matrimoniall crowne vnto him, which of right did belonge vnto him, as beinge heade ower his wiffe, whom he might compell by all lawe diuine and humane, to consent to a thinge so reasonable ; and if shee refused to do it, he promised him the Queene of Englandes assistance, with Murraies, his owen, and all the rest of ther faction, to stande sure his, and do the best they could for him ; who wer all retired thither to strengthen him, if it wold please him to pardon ther former factes, and restore them to ther estates, a thinge which he should and mighte do without the adwise of the Queene, albeit shee wer borne foweraigne Kinge and Queene of the realme: He was her heade, and therefore shee should depend vpon him, and not he vpon her. Thus you see he promised the Prince for his parte the title of a Kinge, not only duringe the mariage, but ewer after to him and his, if it should hapen the Queene

to die without issue, for he might weeke enough hinder the heires of her Maiestie to aspire therunto. This false Judas, on the other parte, shewe to the Queene the youth of her husband, giuen all to his owen will and pleasure, and that he wold owerthrowe him selff if her maiestie helde not the bridle, and that the croune which he demaunded wold be the ruine of them boith if shee agreed vnto him ; shee did weeke to keepe the soweraigntie with her selff, who was weeke acknowledged of all the people to be ther lawfull Ladie and mistres, and that they wold not willinglie come vnder the Englishe yoke, for he could not but somewhat hawe a touch of the nature of the place where he was borne ; meaninge heirby that the English were scarce and proude of nature, and that the Scottes could not endure them. And thus he did not content him selff to giue counsell to the Queene to make her husband odious vnto her, but also he desired that this poore Prince, that shee might think him her best freind amongst the nobilitie, in blaminge his pride, that he was so insolent as to aspire to hawe the title of the Kinge of Scottes, and abuse the Queene as if shee wer a slaue ; that his insolencie was intolerable, not onlie in regarde of her Maiestie, but also of all the nobilitie ; that it was necessarie to bridle it, to the end he might not abuse his goode fortune, and that he might not aduance him selff farder then the lawes of the realme established wold permitt. See heire the subtile and dewilish practises of this makebate, in the absence of Murraie his confederate freinde.

The poore Prince, doubtinge nothinge of the treason which was a bruinge, tendinge to his last ruine, and dreaming no thinge but of his owen particular meanes to attaine to be greate, putteth his whole truste in Morton, and supposeth the Queene his wiff by the counsell of her Secretarie did refuse to inuest him in the kinglie diademe ; so that you maie behold from the begininge of this tragedie, the death of this poore man is agreed vpon, and fullie resolved to

be putt in execution. The Queene knewe nocht of these notable covenantes and bondes betuine Morton and her husbände. But seeinge the occasion was offered by the absence of Murraie and his complices, to do somethinge for the honour of God and religion, which till that time she durste not nor yeet had she anie meanes to undertake, shee assembled the thrie Estates in the beginninge of March, that iustice might be exactlie and trulie ministred without respect of persons, indifferentlie to all men throughout the realme, it some fewe yeares together with religion beinge troden vnder foote; wherwith her husbände seemed so weele content, and cherished the Queene more then usuall, that he knewe not howe to do enough to please. But in so much as in treatinge those affaires, ther must needs be speech of the rebelles that wer in England before the first Session of the Estates, these busineses wer troubled by the meanes of a treason the most bloodie and barbarous that ewer was harde of to be committed in the presence of a foweraigne Queene bigge with childe. When shee had supped in her palice of Holieroodhouse within her cabinet, supper hardlie yeet ended, her husband, the Earle of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, and the Lord Lindeisaie, came within the cabinet, accompanied with a companie of men all in armour: Amongest others, Ruthven, hawinge his heade peece vpon his heade, and the rest of his bodie armed vnder his goun, at his cuminge in sitteth him selff doune in a chaire, and looked vpon the Queene with a sterne countenance. The Queene markinge him weele, saide, that his comminge in was like the fashon of one that came to do no goode. To her he answered, he wished no harm but to a wilful that was neare vnto her, pointinge at the Secretarie with his finger, and that he must needs go out. These woordes wer no sooner uttered but he was ewerie waie assaulted, when he caught holde of her Maiesties goun, cryinge aloud, Justice, Justice; but for all that, they stroake him ower the Queenes shoulder, without anie respect of her roiale per-

son, when shee was greate with childe and neare her reackninge. Amongest otheris of the murderars, the Lord Ruthvens eldest sonne, (some saie it was Andrewe Carre of Faudonside,) hearinge her Maiestie complaininge of such crueltie done in her presence, helde a pistoll against her bellie, all in a rage and blaspheming God saide he wold kill her if shee rose out of the place or did speake one woorde more. To whome shee aunswered, (after they had offered her manie iniurious speeches, which no honest man wold hawe offered the most abiect and contemptible person in the world,) shee trusted in God, who did beholde this from the heaueens, wold reuenge this wile contempt; and settinge her two handes to her sides, shee said, shee hoped God wold mowe that which was betuine her sides, meaninge the childe of whome shee was then bigge, to roote him out, and his treasons, and all his treacherous posteritie; which the world nowe maie see to hawe taken effect.

The rebellious traitoures wer adwised by the counsell of Englande to attempte this cruell murder in her presence, that the Queene beinge frighted at the sight of this terrible tragedie, might be brought to bed before the time, and so the infant might die; which he had not failed of but had died, (as was supposed) with his mother, onles one of the companie had not turned backe the hand of one that stroake cruellie at the secretarie with his dager, from the Queene: But God in his mercie, who saide, Touch not my anointed, had lefte of her a mightie King, who hath taken wengeance of manie of these treasonable traitoures, as the mother had longe before tolde in ther hearing.

Beholde this massacre accomplished, the poore Secretarie beinge cruelly murdered before the eyes of his mistres, and assassinated with fixtie mortall woundes, and shee her selfe locked vp and putt in preson within a chamber, her domestiques, garde and serwitoures chased and driven by force awaie out of the palice, and 24 men in armes, retainars of the murther-

ars, sett to keepe her chamber dore, to hinder that no man leivinge should come neare to speake or conferre with her Maiestie. Morton had provided 400 men all in armes, and conweied them within the palace courte, attendinge the execution of the cruell murder. Then within xii houres after this affasination of the Secretarie, Murraie and his complices arriwe from England, weeled guarded and accompanied; wherby we maie weeled perceiwe the Englishe was partie. I call my Lord of Bedforde, then Gouernour of Berwicke, witnes, who desired, coulde and wold speake the truth in this point, if Elizabeth and her freind Leicester had suffered it. The rebelles beinge arriwed, the first thinge they did was to appeare at the time apointed them, within thrie daies of the which daie of ther appearance was the last that they should haue beene dispossessed of all there goodes and estates, and degraded from ther nobilities, and ther armes rent and torne in the publict assemblie of the Parliament, if they had feiled in ther cruell enterprife. They presented themselves ther all in armes, and demaunded the acte of ther appearance, findinge no person in iustice that demaunded of them anie thinge contrarie to ther goode liking. So the Parliament kept not; the realme beinge troubled by these broiles they sturred vp to hinder them to come to ther dewe triale.

Murraie at his arriwall gaiwe his adwise, that the Queene should be gwarded straitlie in some stronge holde, where he and his associates might commaunde, which they purposed to do. But before the execution of this adwise, ther intent was to conferre openlie with the Kinge about that which they purposed to do; the thinge beinge so weeled begunne, and beinge no time of daliance since they had entered so farre, and so much offended the Queene, that it should be an absurde and ridiculous thinge to thinke to please her, that shee had no hearte if shee wer no white touched with such crueltie, and that it was needfull to dispatch her out of hand, that they must of force

publishe throweout Europe her adulterie with Dauid Rizzio the secretarie, to make ther cause goode, not onlie before the people to appease ther furie, but also before the Kinge of Fraunce, and all Christian Princes that might be offended therwith, and seeke rewenge of such an outrageous offence. And to cullour all thinges with a vizarde or maske of abolishinge poperie and establisshinge the religion of the Gospell, they promised to the Kinge to invest him in the sacred diademes authoritie, and to acknowledge no other but his; and to assure him of ther promise, they desired that instantlie some ordinances and edictes should be published at Edinburgh vnder his onlie name, without adioining therunto the Queenes name, as the custome was: but by goode happe it so fell out, that Murraie presentlie repented him selff, (dissemblinglie plainge the double knaive,) excusinge him selff, sayinge he was ignorant and innocent of all the conspiracie, desyringe her pardon of the first faulte by him and his complices committed when they retired into England, shewinge her besides the danger wherin shee was, that if shee did not finde meanes to appease those who had killed the Secretarie, which shee might do by receiwinge them to mercie, so takinge awaie the despaire of hope which they had to obtaine pardon. To whome shee answered, that he had neuer knowen in her anie cruell minde, spitefull or vindicative, but to the contrarie, manie of them had a sufficient triale of her greate sweetnes and clemencie, whereof shee neuer repented her selff; this wertue beinge a thinge more befeeninge such a prince as shee was then anie other; but beinge captive, deteined and restrained of her libertie by open force, as shee sawe her selff to be, shee had no meanes nowe to performe it, and shewe in effect the grace which he requested for them; for that which shee did could be to [no] end nor purpose to them, nor yeet to him, whom shee desired to gratifie abowe all others, and to do him all the pleasure shee possiblie could, as shee wold make it knowen by effect, ther violence hawinge taken such deepe course that it did



passe meafour, but her bountie might excede ther willanie. As this fpeech paffed betuine and the baffarde Murraie, the Kinge in the meane while entered the chamber where fhee was lokd vp fast; fhee feeinge him, rofe vp and came to him werie kindlie, tellinge him of his greate faulte, and the greate danger wherin his afperinge minde had and was like to bringe him in throwe ambition, and howe he had but fmalle meanes to remedie the fame, and howe litle occafion he had to diftract him felff from her lowe, and to adhere to her mortall ennemies, who had fo often fworne and attempted her ruine; that he had no thinge in Scotlande but by her, and vnder the fhaddowe of her authoritie; that fhee was readie to bringe him foorth a childe, which mighte encrease his power and credite; and that fhee was endangered with her iffue to die, by the manifolde outrages done againft her; that if that fhould happen, he wer vndone, and that he muft not hawe anie hope to efcape the bloodie handes of thefe by whose perfuafion he had killed his wiffe and his childe; that they wold not fo be pleafed to be freed onlie from him that had fo quicke and sharpe an eie into ther afaires; it was not David Rizzio they shotte at, but they wold go forder in ther bufines; that this poore man, whom he had made be maffacred fo willanoulie, without refpect or apparence of iuftice, wold crie for wengeance to God by his bloode; and for that caufe he fhould make his recourfe to Goddes diwine Maieftie, with vnfeingied repentance for his finnes, and namelie that, and that ther was no other meanes to exempt him felff from the hazarde of danger in the which they wer boith brought at the prefent by his onlie pride and rafhnes, except his omnipotent mercie, that abandoneth not them who aknowelege ther offences with an humble and contrite hairte.

This poore Prince, what ambition foewer did blind him before, hawinge weelee harde and confidered the Queens fpeeches, beganne to putt water to his wine, to founde his confcience, and with watrie

eyes, after he had craiued pardon of her, he discowered fullie all the tale, without concealinge anie one pointe of conspiracie, yea, not hidinge ewen that which did concerne the liffe of her Maiestie; as also howe they had agreed in ther counsell, by forme of iustice, or rather vnder a cullour of lawe, to satisfie ther blodie mindes, the heades of the Lord Levingston, and the Lord Fleminge, and Sir James Balfoure, and to massacre a greate number of the cheiff and principall Lordes of the realme, and to droune manie of her Maiesties ladies of honour, namelie the most auncient and noblest families. He declared also ther faire promeses they made him, of the title of a Kinge, and the aide and assistance of the Queene of Englande, and howe by her letters, ambassadors, and large summes of money, shee had stirred vp all the former broiles and cruell conspiracies; and howe Jasper Collignie, Admirall of Fraunce, in cace the Christian Kinge Charles then liwinge, or those of the House of Lorrain, or other Maiesties parentes, wold take notice of those afaires, promised to do the like to aide and assist them to the uttermost of his power; and he tolde her he could put no truste or confidence in the woordes of such cruell people, beinge sawage, fearce and inhumane, and that on the contrarie he did attend no other thing then to accompanie her Maiestie to the death, which was nowe certane and fullie agreed vpon and resolwed.

The Queene, vnderstandinge these mysteries of so horrible and presumptuous treason, after that shee had againe shewed him the danger wherwith they wer compassed, and the litle assurance that ther was to be giuen to the promeses of men so barbarous, disloiale, and so full of impietie, praieth him to returne to them, and report vnto them that he had founde her in verie goode temper to accomde and subscribe whatsoeuer they wold; but beinge presoner as shee was, all that shee did was in no force nor wertue, and that was of the adwise that for this onlie night they wolde suffer her to hawe some libertie without garde, seeinge shee

was sicke, and could not holde her self vpon her feete, and that he wold aunswere for her person. The conspiratours attending his speech werie diligentlie, to perceiue his negotiation with the Queene, beinge returned vnto them againe, he aunswered them according to the instruction which the Queene had giuen him, and vpon it they longe deliberate. Some saide they must not lose the occasion to ridde her out of the waie, vpon whose death ther liues depended. Some proposed the commotion of the people, if so they proceeded against her by waie of deede. Some gawe adwise to putt her to death, but they must expect still till shee had subsigned and subscribed ther remission and pardon, accordinge to the resolution taken in councell: but yett in the end, beinge certifeed of the greate extremitie of her sicknes, and that shee wold hardlie liue till to morrowe, it was concluded that her husband should keepe her that nighte, and that he might remowe and retire the guardes, as he thought it best: which he did speedelie in the nighte, and founde the meanes to go forth at a backe gate, where the Queene with greate danger of her life was helped and mounted vpon horsebake, behinde Arthure Erskine, sonne to the Lord Erskine, her scriwinere, who conducted boith Kinge and Queene, fearinge ther liues, in poste haiste to the castle of Dumbarre, 20 scottish miles distant from Edinburgh.

The rebelles wer readie to burst for despite that they had suffered them selues thus to be deluded, wherby they had loste the occasion to ridde them selues of ther Queene, which, perhaps, they might newer after recower; but yett they do ther best to assemble all ther associates and complices in armes, to assaulte her Maiestie.

The Earles of Huntlie, Athol, and Boithwell, who had, on the other parte, saiued them selues, escapinge out of the windoes when the Secretarie was kilde, had nowe gathered together 9000 men, whome they brought to succour her Maiestie, wherwith the rebelles, much amazed, did betake them self to flighte, some into England, the old ordinarie re-

ceptacle for traitours, some into Argile amongst the Irishe hielande men, expectinge and attendinge some newe conspiracie and change of the Courte, as they call it, to the end to be called againe and restored againe to ther goodes and honours, and to hawe the meanes to plaie the last acte of the tragedie. The Queene, onwillinge that her husband shoulde be defamed with such a willanous murder and so detestable, made it be proclaimed, with expresse prohibition, vnder paine of incurringe her indignation and heighe treason, to all persons, that none should speke euil of his heighnes, or saie that he was partaker of the death of Rizzio, her secretarie. Shee gaiwe him also letters of pardon, to the end his ennemies might neuer hawe meanes to prewaile against him in such a heinous crime, not that shee feared, or had anie mistruste, he could be punished for such crime whilest she liwed, but in case it hapned that shee should die before him; these letters giwen ones by the prince might awarrant him against all enquirie in a crime committed by him, (for in Scotlande letters ones giwen by the Prince ar not subiect to the iudge to [be] enquired and examined againe by them, but be presumed to have beene giwen with full and entier knowledge of the crime): wherin you maie clearlie see the synceritie of her lowe and coniugall affection which shee bare towards him without fraude or fiction, notwithstandinge the rigours that shee made shewe of some time after, which proceeded not from anie ewill will, as you maie judge, but of greate discretion and wisdom to make knowen [to] this younge Prince, stout of hand and curage, his greate pride and rashnes.

I praie the good reader compare this my discourse with that of Buchanans in his Scotishe Historie, wherin for this mater he hath as manie lies as woordes; and with the defamatorie libell composed by him in Latine, and declamed at London, when he was ther with Murraie and his complices, to make the Queene his mistres odious. The Englishe durst neuer hawe vndertaken the iudgment of such thinge, as shalbe heirafter declared;

if this false traitoure had not beene incited, boith at home and by them, to disguise the veritie of this facte by painted eloquence. But in despite of them all, it shalbe most ewidentlie seene to a man that hath newer so litle iudgment, and that is experienced in the affaires of the world at this most miserable time, what we can remember in our daies: he foundeth his principall argument, which he proposeth against his soweraigne to make her guiltie of her husbandes murder, vpon the mortall hatred which shee bare him, or had occasion to bare him, and to the rigour shee used towards him ewer since the murder of her secretarie: But to make the contrarie appear vnto thé, and that they, who killed the one, massacred and assaulted the other, and that boith of the two murders came out of the same chope, by the paines and industrie of the Queene of Englande and her councell, I will continowe my narration to prove this, albeit my propositiounes of prohibitiounes made by her Maiestie for speakinge euil of her husbände, and of letters of remission giuen him, be sufficient for full resolution and refutatioun of these shamelesse, perverse and detestable calumnies, proceedinge from the forge and invention of Satan him selff.

After the barbarous and cruell murder of the secretarie, the rebels, not able to make ther partie goode, forsooke the feildes and fled into England, the ordinarie herboure of such treacherous people, and these wer the cheiff and principall of them; wiz. Morton, Ruthven, and Lindefaie, who all wer at the execution of the cruell fact. Others fled into Argile with Murraie, who doubted not, as we hawe alredie saide, but he should be called home againe to the court to communicate in this mater of the murder, because he was absent, and the indignitie of the facte so greiued her Maiestie, that shee wold easelie deface the memorie of all precedent iniuries, which thinge came ewen so to passe; for her Maiestie sieing her selff environed with traitouris, and knowinge not whom to trust, and being ewerie daie sollicitated by persons interposed

by Murraie, did, in the end, by too greate a clemencie, yieldit him his pardon, giwing him againe all his honouris, and communicating vnto him her afairs and her most inwarde thoughtes, as in times past shee had ; which thing cauffed all the mischeiwes that ewer since hawe distressed her husband and her, and brought them boith to that lamentable end they came to. The King seeing this traitour afoote, and that his credite was more regarded in all the realme then his, tooke displeasure at it, and could not endure it. On the other parte, Murraie, Morton, and the rest of the murdering butchers of the secretarie, wold wishe willinglie the death of the young Prince, for abandoning ther parte, and for rewealing and telling all the tales he told of them to the Queene, of ther cruell conspiracies, to make them odious to her Maiestie ewer after, for which cause he could in no forte truste them, knowing ther disloiale and false partes, without feare of God, pietie of men : he cometh to the Queene, he telleth the intention he had in his hearte to kille Murraie, whom he so much mistrusted that he doubted ewen his shadowe, and that ther was no other meanes to assure him selff of his liffe ; declaring farther vnto her, that the death of such a tratour was the repose and rest of the whole realme, the assurance of the state, and comforte of the people.

Her Maiestie amazed, heiring his resolution, forbidde him in fewere and sharpe woordes not to blowe abroad this wicked designe, nor to passe anie further to effect the same, telling him, that it was vnfitting for a Prince, as he was, to be bloodie, and that he could not be content to kill her Secretarie, but he must needes also enter in her bloode and kill her brother, which she could not indure for the honour shee bare to the deceased Kinge her father ; she could not endure his bloode should be shed whom shee acknowledged for his naturall sonne, albeit a traitour and disloiale, by this meanes making no account of the bloode whence shee issued ; shee said shee had iustice in her handes

to punishe him as he deserwed, when shee desired to be ride of him, and such a cruell fate was forbidden of God and man. Yeet, notwithstanding all these declarations, he could not content him selff, but discowered it to manie persons that he lowed them not so weeles as they did Murraie, and he waunted werie boldlie to the purpose that they wold meete vpon the first occasion should be offered. But Murraie, more craftie and subtile then he, made a goode countenance on the mater, and feinged werie cunninglie as if he knewe no thinge of the mater, shewing ewer a goode cheare, and yeet ceased not for all that, to giue ordoure to prewent him: he did ewer perceiue that the liff of this young Prince was ewer contrarie to the designes he had to come to the croune, and that he was of such curage that he wold not feill to execut his purposed intent, if in a goode houre he did not forsee the imminent danger, and provide for it.

And for this cause, addressinge him selff to his ordinarie counsell of England, he brought it about in such fort, asweele by the entreatie of Elizabeth, as by the intercession of the greatest faworites of the courte, and the most affectionat seruitouris of his mistres, that Morton and his complices obtained pardon of ther treasons, and wer rewoked from banishment, which thing much fortified him, asweele by reason of ther assistance, as by reason of the goode counsell they brought him from Elizabeth and her counsell, and for the olde hatred they bore also vnto him. At ther first arriwall, seeing her Maiestie giue some shew of discontent towards her husband, they put it in her heade to forsake him, asweele by reason of his dissolute liffe, as for because of the death of the Secretarie, wherof as they saide he was the onlie authour. To the which shee made aunswere, that her husband was yeet but younge, and that shee wold easelie bring him into the right waie, and that of his nature he was weeles enclined and goode, and that ther was not a better natured man in all the world, and that his corruption came of euil

councell of these that wer neither his freindes nor hers. Of this aunswere they receiued no content, hawing heirbye discouered that the greiffe of her Maiestie against her husband was no other thinge but a countenance, and that from her hearte shee perfectlie lowed him.

James Hepburn Earl Boithwell, hereditarie heigh Admirall of Scotland, had beene all his lifetime a faithfull serwant of the croune, a man valiant, and for magnanimouse prowesse, abowe all others ; but, as touching other thinges, audacious, proude, inconstant, changable, and easie to be perswaded, readie to vndertake, and more readie to put in execution ; and for this cause did Murraie and his wicked complices muche doubt and suspect him, and had ewer beene his deadlie enemies ; and knowing full weeles the humour of the person, and that he was the fittest man in the world to execute ther minde and designe, they lauboured earnestlie to make him on ther side, to effectuat the councell which they had taken in England, tendinge not onlie to the ruine of the Queene and her husband, but to his owen, who had not witt enough to conceiue it. Having, therefore, entered familiarilie with him, they do beginne to propose the indignitie of the mariage of ther mistres with a younge and stubrunne foole, that had so much gulled her that shee was nowe discontented with him, and wold be glade to be ride of him, if by anie honest meanes it could be done ; but that shee was so wertuous, sage and modest, that shee durste not discower her greiffe to her best serwantes, that might remedie it, a thinge which caused her to be verie melancholious ; for hawing taken this young man vpon her owen motion, and without the concent of those of Lorrane and Guise, her mothers freindes, shee feared to be accused by them of lightnes, if shee should not dispatch her selfe of him ; but if anie goode companion wold giue him a deadlie blowe without her priuities, and that nothinge might be imputed vnto her, shee wold not griue, nor be much displeased therewith ; for albeit he had giuen her the greatest cause of the world to



die, be it by iustice or adventure, so that it is that shee could not, without blame, openlie consent, asweele for the peoples woice, ignorant of her miserie, as in regarde of her parentes, whose adwise shee durste not aske, who beinge yeet duellie certifeed of the least indignities which shee suffered by contrainte of a man of no woorth, wold counsell her to be rewenged vpon him, and emploie the nobilitie of her countrie to deliuer her from his bondage ; for that it was he that was the onlie authour of the murder of the secretarie, and not so contenting himselff, he thought to dispatch out of the world her Maiestie, (so spoke they to Boithwell,) if shee had not saiwed her selff throwe a windowe : And after that he had done this famous acte, he was so impudent and proude, that he durste write to the King of Fraunce, and to the greatest Princes of the Christianitie, letters defamatorie and full of lies against his wiffe, thinking by such meanes to excuse his willenie, boith of the inwenting and execution of the cruell murder of the secretarie ; for albeit this poore man knewe not himselff, and made himselff odious to the nobilitie, yeet should he not hawe handled him so roodlie as he did in the presence of her Maiestie, hawing meanes enough to remedie the mater with lesse scandale. There is no doubte but her Maiesties parentes of Lorraine and Guise, wold holde it werie agreable and convenient to awenge the crime, if it wer fitt likewise for a woman to demaunde it ; but seeing we haue this ranke to be the first in honours in the realme, and that we haue the principall interest concerning the honour of our Mistres, and the vpholding of her greatnes and authoritie, we must not attend till we be entreated, and that strangers shewe vs our lessons. That is to us heigh treason to knowe such thinges and to endure them : We do not complaine of the litle account he maketh of vs, and all the Lordes of this realme, whom he esteemeth no more then flaiwes, threatning to kill vs, now one, and then another, at ewerie worde he uttereth ; but the onworthie behaiour he useth towards her Maiestie, and knowing

the duetie of a subiect, and the cause and groundes of his fortune, ought no sooner by us to be endured. We have oftentimes merwalled at your Lordshipe, most affectionat to her service, how you could have so greate pacience, and have not beene mowed with such greate outrages that you see her daelie endure, which is the cause that doeth mowe us to addresse our selwes vnto your Lordshipe, to knowe your intent whether it will please you to subscribe to this counsell which we have taken to deliwer her Maiestie from the captiuitie of this yonge foole, and to giue her to husband some Lord of the cuntrie whom we shall thinke fitte, and agreable for her, which we have nowe weeled adwised, and made choise of your person if you thinke the condition goode. Amongest all the rest of us there is none can accept it, some for proximitie of bloode, some for impossibilitie to be separated from ther wiues, some others for the multitude of ther children, some others for the hatred her Maiestie beareth vnto them, albeit to her most humble and affectionat serwantes; you are one of the youngest and noblest Lordes of this realme, beautifull, valiant, without charge of children, honoured, respected of her Maiestie for your greate serwices past, whom shee can not weeled refuse, beinge by us chosen and presented amongest others of the nobilitie, to be companion of her croune and scepter: our prayers shall have force to constraine her, beinge founded vpon so goode and so apparent reasons; for the realme being so troubled, as you see, and so manie quarrellis amongest them of the nobilitie, it shall be no assurance vnto her to liue wedowe, and lesse assurance to marie ane forren prince. The Scottes be composed of such humouris that they can not be subiect to a forreiner; howe soone shaked they of ther nekes the yoke of Queene Marie of Lorrain, her Maiesties mother, and refused ther due obedience to Frauncis the second, King of Fraunce? Thinke you that after they be enfranchised from the tyrannie of the English, they will endure to be commanded by anie other then one of ther owen na-

tion? Will they referre them selves in ther discordes to a stranger, as they will to your Lordshippe? Marke weele our purposes, and suffer not this occasion to slippe; it is goode fortune which offereth it selff vnto you; it will turne to your greate sorrow, to see an other heirafter enioye that which you might hawe had with the goode liking of all men.

These faire promeses in shewe made Boithwelles mouth water, and did much tickle his minde; for, he beinge verie ambitious of nature, and much giwen to his pleasures, he did not a litle merwell and thinke of the overture that was then offered him, to content boith the one and the other of these passions: For his answere, after he had giwen them manie and large thanks for ther goode will, and the opinion they had of his prudence, he saide he thought him selff lesse then capable of so goode fortune, and to the which he durste newer aspire. He beganne to deplore the iniuries done to her Maiestie by her disloiale and ingratefull husbände, and the greater goode hape that it wer to him, and to all the realme, if shee could theroff be deliwered, that it should sticke vpon him, and that he wold subscribe willinglie to all that which should please the Lordes for the solace of his mistres, swearinge and protestinge to be [a] faithfull seruitour to them all his liffe, what fortune soewer might befall him: but touching the condition they proposed of the mariage of her Maiestie, that he sawe not howe it might be executed, seeing he had ones alredie allied him selff in one of the greatest in the realme, which he could not by anie meanes dissolwe. To whome they againe replied, that he should take no care of that, hawing iuste occasion of diworce, and that they wold make his wiffe, and all her parents, giue ther consentes therunto; and albeit they refused, yeet they wold not cease to go forder, for Boithwell had married one of his nearest kinred, whose cusinge he had carnallie knowen before, and this was a most lafull impediment of such a mariage; and albeit ther wer no other cause of divorce, yeet the repose and peace of the realme

should content them together, that the personis of Princes ar priuiledged, which, for iuste and goode occasions, ar dispensed with all, and be not as other people subiect to the lawe; and albeit ther wer no reason, nor apparence of reason, in the world to be separated from his wiffe, they had the ministers at ther commande, who wold make diuorce as they shoulde desire: To conclude, they led on this miserable younge man by ther subtile craftes and inuentions, that he vndertoke to assaulte and murder the Kinge, followinge therin the adwise and counsell which they gawe him cuninglie. This resolution was vndertaken, the solemne and authentike wretinges beinge first subscribed and sealed, and written by Alexander Haye, publiſt notarie, after Clerk Register in Scotland. Murraie cometh to the Queene, and telleth her, that the Lord Dernelie her husband, the Earle of Lenox his father, and the Earle of Glencarne, with manie mo of the nobilitie, wer assembled together at Glascoue to take counsell by what meanes they might depriue her Maiestie of the gowernment of the realme, and to inuest her husbände, and to take her and to confine her to perpetuall prison if shee refused to consent, and therefore he counsellèd her in all speede to repaire to Glascoue stronglie accompanied, to preuent ther designs.

By such reportes this foxe did thinke nothing but to alienate her minde from her husbände, and prepare and dispose her to beare moderatlie the death of him whome shee lowed dearelie, notwithstanding the feingeed rigouris and counterfutes which shee made shoue of to him. But her Maiestie, knowinge weele the malice of Murraie, made no great account of his aduertisment, but beinge otherwise informed of his sickness, and that the smalle poxe\* was broken out on him, not able to dissemble anie longer the lowe which shee bare him, tooke her iurnie towarde Glascoue to visite him, whither when shee came, shee used him verie kindlie and courteouslie, without any dislike or shoue of offences past, eand entreated him so weele as was possible for anie woman to do,

\* Alexander Haye, phisitian, who ministred vnto him, saide it was poison, which the strength of his nature, he beinge of a goode complexion, did drive forthe.

wheroff Murraie and his complices wer no white glade, feeing the greate forrowe thee had in his death plotted by them, which might take awaie the opinion from the people of her consenting ; for this was the principall of ther designes, to procure the fuspicion of this cruell facte [to] be bruted to proceede from the Queene, and to make her become odious, and to seaze them felwes in the roiale gowernment of the state ; which after they did, pairting the pelfe amongest them, that is, fpendinge the revenneus of the croune as they lifted.

After thee had foiourned a while at Glascoue, and that the sicknefs had runne his courfe, Murraie tolde the Queene that it was needeful for the Kinge to be remowed for the change the aire, and that the Lord B            thought it werie fitte that he should be ludged with the Proweift of Kirkfeilde at Edinburghe, being a place heighlie situate, pleasant, and in goode aire, inwironed with pleasant gardens, and remowed from the noife of people ; but to the contrarie, the palace ftoode lawe, and by meanes of the Courte keepte ther, had greate reforte [of] people. The Queene thought this counsell goode, not doubtinge anie danger, conducted thither her husband, and as thee led him by the hand to the houle of the Earle of Arran, harde adioininge to the Kirke of feilde, Murraie did bid her returne, and led him to the balefull fatall ludgine, where he ended his liff : Whilleft he was ther, her Maieftie werie often vifited him, not miftrustinge anie euil, whatfoewer her false ennemies faie to the contrarie. Shee lowinglie ftaied with her husband, giwing him all the contentment thee coulde, ftaying with him almost till midnichte, and about two or thrie houres after, the houle was blowen vp with gunnepouder in a commone poftern at a hoile, the fame time that her Maieftie was there, and it was done by thofe who muft needes thereafter, (the better to cullour ther designes), feeme to be the rewengens of the crueltie, wheroff they wer the cheiff authouris, for the Queene goeing foorth of the ludgine to go to her palice, thee did

meete Paris, the Earl of Boithwallis serwant, whom shee asked whence he came, he smelled so of gunnepowder.

The daie before the cruell deede, Murraie tooke his leawe of the Queene, feingeinge that his wiffe was so sicke in childbed that no man expected her liif one hour. But full weeie knewe he what should be done that night, as also he did vnderstand, yea dewised it him selff, that this young Prince should hawe beene blowne vp in a powder traine in a place in the walie forgainst the castle gates of Stirling, onles his uncle who keepte the young Prince his sonne, repenting him selff that he gaiwe his consent to such a cruell faete, had forwarned him not to go furthe to the walie to beholde the fireshewes for feare of danger. Murraie wold faine hawe awoided all suspitione of [the] foul faete, in going to see his wiffe before her death, but his owen tounge did bewrie him to be accessarie therunto, and knewe weeie the whole mater, so that it seemeth he was the chieffe and principall dewiser, if not the executioner, for after he had taken leiwe of the Queene, he saide to the Lord Harrise, this night shall the Kinge loose his liife; which speech of his the saide Lord hath often since mantained to his face boith at home and abroad, and namelie at the citie of Yorke before the deputies of Elizabeth ther councellouris, that was accessarie to this cruell murder: and he spoke these wordes not onlie to the saide Lorde Harrise, but he also repeated them to some of his freindes beinge embarked in a bote when as he passed ower the water at the Queenes ferrie, which is an arme of the sea two miles broade betuine Edinburgh and Dunnfermeling. If he was sorie for the death of the King, as he made shewe some time after, whie did he not certifie the Queene of the conspiracie, seeing he knewe it? Whie did he not shewe the Kinge of it, and forwarne him of the danger? The least woorde of his mouth might hawe hindered this bloodie murder, and hawe saiwed the innocent princes liif, and the honour of his Queene, and the whole kingdomes.

But fithence he could not be staied at the Courte, notwithstanding all the instance her Maiestie could make, but conwoied him selff awaie almost at the time that the murder was committed, knowing weele the maner howe it should proceede, and that he might hawe letted and hindered it by one onlie woorde, in that he declared that he was at least consenting to the crime, and that his affected absence was but to serue him for a maske and culloured cloake to excuse him in the sight of the world, and he wold not be at the execution, contenting him selff to hawe his agentes and ministers of his goode will, vpon whome he might assure him selff.

The nexte daie after the actinge of this tragedie, earlie in the morninge arriweth Robert Durie, archer of the Christian kinges garde in Scotland, sent from the archbishope of Glascowe from Fraunce, to aduertise her Maiestie of some greate intended conspiracie against either her life, her husbandes, or her young sonnes, or all thrie, wheroff ther was certane and sure aduertisment giuen to without specifeinge either the authours, ther names, or them and ther names against whom it was prepared.

So this parracide thus cruellie committed, diuers rumouris runne abroade throwe Edinburgh of the authours and causses of so damnable and cruell a treason, ewerie one iudginge and speakinge accordinge to the goode or badde affection that he caried to the Lordes of the Courte. But the Queene, whom these afares more concerned then anie other, ignorant of the bruite spread thorowe the citie, and not able to discover the ministers of this action, shee was forced, by founde of trumpet, to publishe the goode will shee had to reuenge the death of her husband, and to recompence liberallie these that wold reweale the authours of it. The neighbours of the adioininge houses ar

The Earle of Argile, hereditarie Lord Chieffe iustice of the realme, had

commandement from her Maiestie, to do all his best diligence possible to learne out the truth, and to apprehend all the complices of the facte, which he tooke no care to do his duetie in his office, for he was interested in the foule facte.

In the end, by certane libellis fixed in the market place, and publiſt and open gates of the citie, the Earle Boithwell is defamed to be the authour and the doare of the cruell murder, and that by the meanes of those who sett him aworke: Which thing, after that it came to the Queenes eares, albeit shee could hardlie beliue such an accusation for the goode opinion shee had of him, that neuer before had beene delated to offend her, or her lawes, yeet shee caused him to be taken, and putt into the handes of the iustice, that he might be proceeded against by ordour of lawe; and for this purpose, shee did make choice of those who did not fawour him, and those wer Morton and Murraie, who boith after persecuted her sacred Maiestie for this woefull act with all spitefull hatred. All that wer provided to go vpon this triale, wer of Murraies factioun and favorites: they onlie ar charged to take instruction and iudgment of the proceſſe;—if they did cleare and absolue him, it is ther faulte, if they knewe him culpablie guiltie, they did against her commiſſion giwen them; and not takinge notice of the thinge accordinglie, be them selwes guiltie, and maie be supposed to be of counsell and knowledge of the facte. Shee can not iustlie be blamed (shee being in such anguiſh of minde as shee was in for the death of her husband), for the miscareinge of the triale of that, which, by the lawes of the landes, shee trusted them with. Shee did not thinke, that they, whome shee put in truste to trie the mater, had subscribed with ther handes the write and instrument of agrement to do this wicked parricide, and sealed the same approwinge it, which was ewident by Mortouns confession, who suffered for the crime, and that beinge Protectoure and Regent Gowernour for the young Kinge in his



minoritie a long time, because he did not punishe and purfue with iuste wengeance accordinge to the lawes, which he ought to hawe putt in execution, all that wer guiltie of fuch heinous treafounes. But because they them felwes who wer of that factioun wer guiltie, none of ther affociates and complices wer punished, and fo Boithwell ther copartner, againft ther consciences, was abfolwed, not for anie goode which they did beare him, they being ewer his mortall ennemie, but to make ther mistres her selff to be suspected theroff.

But the potte of Rofs being difcovered by Boithwellis death, if they had condemned him, ther guiltines, and ther mistres innocencie, should ewidentlie appeare in the eyes of the world: For this caufe they difsemble werie cuninglie the malice they had in ther mindes againft Boithwell, and make greate shoue of respect they hawe to his amitie, till fuch time as they had meanes to entangle and compaffe the Queene, and make her miserable, to seafe vpon the gowernement of the croune, which was the onlie marke they shotte at. And for to make better the mishaps, and to giue her certane argument of ther zeale and goode affection, wheroff they built ther a paradice, and that shee should no thinge doubte of that which they bruted of her, Murraie tolde her that he must needes take a woiage into Fraunce, and commended vnto her his affaires, leawinge them to her protection and faiwegarde all the meanes which he had in Scotland. But before ther partinge they must finishe the worke with the actioun like vnto the beginning, and adde a catastrophe to the tragedie conformable to the other which they had lauboured, ellis ther endeworinge laubouris should ferwe to no end, if the Queene should not runne the fame fortune with her husband.

They propofe vnto her werie cunninglie, the greate difordour that was in the realme by the diuifion of the nobilitie, and the inconuenience that arifeth by the gowernement of wedowes, in regarde of the smalle meanes they hawe to put a remedie therto, onles it be by the mariage

of fuch a man as fhould be agreeable to them all who ar of the nobilitie. This overture thus made, and feeing that after manie affayes they had almoft gained this point of her, that ſhee wold marie againe, and that they wolde force her to do it, they propofed vnto her, in the firft place, the difficultie to rule and gowerne the people of Scotland, lowers of libertie, insolent of ther ſelff, and altogether onwilling to beare the yoke of a ſtrange Prince, putting befor her eyes manie examples; and amongeft others, Queene Marie her mother, a Prince ſo ſage, vertuous, debonare, and eaſie to be led, as ewer was anie in the world; Fraunces 2, Kinge of Fraunce; John Baliol, of the cuntrie of Normandie, one of the firſt yeet of the peeres of the Scotiſhe bloode, whoſe gowernement was vnto them vnſupportable, not for anie other reaſon but for that they wer borne in a ſtrange cuntrie. They added to theſe the Romans and Engliſhe, who, for this cauſe, wer newer ſuffered to effect ther entended conqueſtes do what they could, thé wer ſo curageouſlie reſiſted, and beaten home with ſhame at the length; and therefore it was neceſſarie for her to chooſe ſome Lord from amongeft her ſubiectis, accordinge to her heart, to whom ſhee ſhould by ſolemne oth, and they all binde themſelwes to reſpect, honoure, and feare, and yeeld vnto her the obeifance due to her roial Maieſtie. On the contrarie, if ſhe thought to go her owen waies, and reſuſe him whom all the nobilitie and people wold ſubmit themſelwes of ther owen motion, ſhee ſhould owerthrowe her ſelff and her eſtate, and put all the realme into a fire of diſſention.

Theſe entries thus made, in the end of the place thé put the Earle of Boithwell, hereditarie Admirall of the realme, whome they extoll, aſweele for his nobilitie as for his beautie, valour and dexteritie in warre, to her choice, like wnto whom they could not finde the like. They alledged alſo the goode ſerwices he had done for her Maieſtie, being almoſt the onlie one of all her realme that had newer waried nor

failed of his duetie, and that had neither spared liſſ nor goodes for advancement of her authoritie. To conclude, they ade the different quarrellis and mortall enmitieſ which wer amongeſt the greateſt parte of the nobilitie, wheroff they wold referre them ſelwes to her and to no other, which ſhould be the greateſt goode that ewer ſhould befall her Maieſtie. In the end, ſeeing the difficultie ſhee made to yeelde to ther counsell, as to abaſe her ſelf ſo much as to ioine her ſelf by ſo ſtraite a lawe to one of her ſubiectes, they cauſſed a certane draught of mariage to be made, which they all of them ſigned with ther handes, and delivered it to Boithwell, to ſerwe him for his warrant in time and place. This notwithstanding, ſeeinge the principall exception her Maieſtie tooke to withſtand ther perſuaſiouns, was the murder of the Kinge, and the mariage contracted betuine Boithwell and the ſiſter of the Earle of Huntelie, and that it was contrarie to all right and reaſon, that ſhee ſhould marie him who was thought guiltie of her former husbandis murder, as alſo werie onſeemlie for anie man to hawe two wiwes together being aliue. To the firſt they answered, he was cleared of all ſuſpition by the lawe; and as for the ſeconde, ther wer manie goode and ſufficient reaſons for the diworce which they could procure eaſelie.

Seeing thus the Queene not to ſtand content with the diworce, they made her beliue that the Earle of Boithwellis ladie was alredie deade, and ſaide nowe the mater was without all difficultie; and the occaſion was nowe offered, that Boithwell wold ſerwe him ſelf with this contract of mariage betuine him and her Maieſtie, ſubſigned with the handes of the greater parte of the nobilitie of the realme, for ſo they had adwiſed him to do, as he was an apt ſcholar, being ambitious no doubt enough of nature. They counſelled the Queene to go to the caſtle of Sterling, to viſite her younge ſonne the prince, and made Boithwell acquainted at what time ſhee ſhould returne; and in the

meane time, they wished him to lie in wmscadoe, weelee accompanied, and so he might catche her, and carie her where he wold, and force her to marie him ; and as he was taught he did, aspiringe to be greate. For while as the Queene returned from Sterling, he staied by the waie, weelee accompanied with a greate number of men all in armes, and led her to the castele of Dunnbarre, where when he had brought her, much against her stomake, he shewed her the contract, saying to her, shee must needes consent, since the nobilitie and all the people hold it expedient, asweel for the publict saiwegarde of all, as for assurance of her roiale estate, promising, in other thinges, to be her most humble and affectionat seruitour, as he had ewer beene, and ewer to acknowledge, (for the honour that he receiued of her Maiestie,) her his dreade Soweraigne; he promised all humble obeifance for the greatnes of his vnderferwed fortunes which he should hawe by her, and vnexpected, wherwith the greatest monarch of the earth might rest satiffed.

Thus the confortles Princes seeing her selff captiuated, and none of her nobilitie to come for her deliwerie and restitution agane to her former libertie, and on all sides assailed and importuned by the praiers and sollicitations of some of the greatest and most mightie of the realme, and otherwise affrighted with the remembrance of her husbandis murder, and her secretarie, and howe then shee was threatned with the danger of her liffe, then being bigge with childe, as it wer shaking and trembling at the memoriall therof, not being able to resist, nor knowing whom to trust, nor whether to turne her selff, seeing her selff destitute of her nobilitie, and that they had by ther wretinges and signes conspired to bring this mariage to an end, gaiwe place, though much against her stomake, to the present danger and necessitie, assuring her selff no thing could be imputed vnto her for faulte, if anie thinge did fall out otherwise then weelee, vpon ther heades who wer the onlie and authouris and con-

strainers of her to yeelde to the mariage, which shee neuer dreamed nor thought of.

The mariage thus finished, beholde the cheiffe authouris and counsellouris theroff gett them selwes together vp in armes, to dazell the eyes of the people, as they had neuer beene acquainted with the purpose. In ther first insurrection and tumultuous rewolt, they make no shewe or signe they caried ane discontented minde against the Queene ther Mistres; but made it be imprinted and published throwe the cuntrie ther protestation, by the which they did sweare, calling God to witnes, that they wer forced to take weapons in hand for no other occasion but to deliwer her Maiestie out of the captiuitie of Boithwell, the murderer of the Kinge; and therefore they did praie all the faithfull serwantes and the goode subiectes of the Croune to aide, assist and sett to ther hand to so commendable a worke, and woorthie of men of goode fame and honestie; which was the cause that manie men of marke, and that did not usuallie rebell, had ioined them selwes to ther fides.

The conspiracie was resolwed vpon at Dunkell, in the werie finishing of the mariage, and so came fordwarde in armes towarde Borthike castle, where the Queene was for the time; when shee hardlie escaped by flight vnto the castell of Dumbarre, whither shee commanded so manie as wold yeelde her obedience to come in armes, to resist her betrayers and traitourous ennemies, who subillie had brought her in this greate danger, and the cuntrie to be thus trubled. Wnto her came spedelie a goode companie of men, as might vpon such a sudden assemble them selwes together for the defence of ther Prince. Shee came fordwarde with her forces to Carbarrie hill, thinkinge no subiect durst be bolde to stande in the sight of ther Prince in armes; but it fell out contrarie to her expectation, for the rebellis that fought her so farre, came fordwarde in armes with desplaied banere.

Thus the two armies, being ranged in battell and readie to come

and encounter the rebelles, sent vnto her Maiestie William Kirkecaldie of Grange to declare vnto her, in all humilitie, that they could not see her so capitiwed and held in subiection, as it were a slaiue to Boithwell the murderar of the Kinge: and if it wold please her Maiestie to forsake him, and to come to them, they protested, with infinite othes, they wold continowe and rest her Maiesties most affectionat and faithfull serwantes more then ewer before, and more then Boithwell or anie other. The Queene, wondering of that which was spoken of Boithwell, whom at ther instant praier and threatens shee had wedd and espoused, and whom now they blamed of that cruell murder, became amazed, hawinge neither care nor regarde what should become of her selff: shee commanded Boithwell to retire him selff from her presence, saying, his cause was neither goode nor honest, for as begunne in mischief, so he had gone forwarde; and so shee came to the rebellis, thinkinge they wold be as goode as ther woorde, and keepe touches with her Maiestie; and this was done 15 June 1567.

This yeelding her selff in the handes of her disloiale subiectis, whose treacherie so often shee had tried, hath beene her beginninge to her latter ruine, and brought her Maiesties most faithfull subiectes to greate trouble since, for shee had meanes enough to punishe ther pride, if shee had keepte her selff out of ther handes. But shee said, shee wold not hawe the bloode of her subiectis shed, and shee trusted to ther solemne sworne promise made by Grange in ther name, who thought not that they wold hawe broken with her, nor wished him to carie a message that they newer meant to keepe, making him an instrument to betraie his Princes in ther handes. But he perceiwing treacherie, and that his honour was stained, he toke notice theroff, albeit too late, and turned himselff to her Maiesties side, and since did her Maiestie goode service in keeping the strong holde, the castle of Edinburgh, to her Maiesties behowe, thinkinge one daie to see her Maiestie adwanfed to her former

roiale estate. He wold newer yeelde this fortresse to her Maiesties rebellis, for that they had so treacheroullie deceiwd him in the foirfaides promefes towardes his foweraigne, when he was enwironed in the castle foirfaide by the Queenes rebellis, and Elizabeth ther defendresse in treacherie had sent them aide, and boith did affaulte him, and batter the fortresse for the space of two yeares, shooting in that space 12000 shoote of greate canon and ordinance, besides manie mo smaller shotte, he hardlie was driwen by composition to yeelde him selff and the house, not to Morton, nor his mistres rebellis for the cause foirfaide, but to Elizabeth, who promesed him his saiftie of his liif and his brothers, together with ther landes, and whatsoewer ellis did belong vnto them, and to departe, as the proverbe is, with bagge and baggage : But howe weelee shee keepte promese you maie see by this, that when they had yeelded them selwes to her, shee put them in the handes of the falsse traitour Morton, her right eie and ther deadlie enemye, contrarie not onlie to all faith and conscience, but also to all ciwile and militarie discipline, hanged them boith vpon a gibbet.

The abominable traitouris, hawinge the Queene as a preie in ther handes, without much ado led her to Edinburgh, careinge before her a banner, wherin was painted her deade husband, and the young Prince at her feete cryinge for wengeance ; and this they did the more to spitte her, and make her die for exceevinge greiffe, sorrowe and outrage. They had prepared this baner, hawing it in readines to shewe her the wofull spectacle, assuring them selwes shee wolde yeelde and come to them so soone as shee should beholde the spectacle, in an image of the parricide of her former husband by Boithwell ; wherein you maie [see] their treason premeditated. Nowe, being come to Edinburgh, they encamp themselwes within the roiale palice, stronglie fenced with men of armes. They put the Queene ther mistres to ludge with the prowest of the toune, and apointed a companie of

commone fouldiouris to watche her boith day and night. Ower foir-gainft her ludgine they fpred abroad the foirfaide banner, and left ther miftres without ladie, or maide of honour, or chammerlane, or anie grome to attende her in her neede. All the night longe they robbed her mowables, and all that was in her Maiefties roiale palice: all the roiale furnitour and ornamentes of the croune wer maid hawoke of, wheroff fome of greate price and walewe Murraie deliwered to Elizabeth in England, and fome to her counsell, and other fome was lent in Fraunce and Flaunder, and ther made monie of to help them forwarde in ther treacherous rebelloun. In the morning betimes shee was attired with . . . . . of a . . . . . which came hardlie doune to her Maiefties knees, and sett vpon a haikneie without anie roiale furnitour, and be chance was founde feeding in a medowe, and shee is caried to the caſtle of Lochlewin, beinge ſituated with [in] a freſhe water deepe laike in circuit fixe miles, hawing no entrie but by boate, ſo that now they are ſure of her perſon to diſpoſe of it at ther pleaſure. The owner of this houſe was Murraies wombe brother, who with Marre his uncle, Lindeſaie, Mortoun, and the reſt of that treacherous crewe, who intended nowe to advance this cruell baſtard to the roiale croune and ſcepter, thought it beſt ſhee ſhould be ſtrangled betwene the quiltes of her bed, and after to make it be blaſed abroad ſhee had hanged her ſelf with her owen handes, fearing ſhee ſhould have come to triale of juſtice and ſo be diſpatched: others, more politicke, thinkinge this crueltie wold make them be ſuſpected of the people, and that ther was an other more pleaſant waie to come to the accompliſhment theroff. But all ther deſignes be odious, not to proceede anie farther till Murraies comming, that he might be ther partner in ſo dangerous an action; for albeit no thinge paſſed till that time but vnder his name and authoritie, as beinge cheiffe and authour of the league, yet ſo it is, that as traitours miſtruſte one another, they feare his coming, and that more eaſelie to obtaine his pur-



pose, he wold make as if he wer offended for the badde entreatie of his sifter, and in the meane while he wolde demaund iustice and wengeance, althought nothings [haid?] more contented him then to hawe her quitlie dispatched out of hand. Murraie was then in Fraunce negotiatinge with Admirall Collignie howe he should hawe the cardes shuffled, that is, howe he should behawe and carie him selff to attaine to the croune of Scotland. The Christian kinge Charles 9, the Lordes of Guise, and all the greatest of the peeres of Fraunce, shewed him werie goode countenance, and finding ther fawour, he promised to sett his sifter frie at her owen libertie to enioye her roiale authoritie, and to appease those that wer rewolted from her obedience, and make them acknowledge her Maiesties scepter.

In this meane while Murraie receiweth letters from his associates the rebellis, by the meanes of Elizabeth and her ambassadouris, commanding him with all diligence to returne home into England, first to hawe notice what his goode freinde Elizabeth, what he must do towards his sifter, and then into Scotland to sett forward thinges as they had begunne, for his better advancement. But he at the first doeth neither obeie his complices commandement, nor followeth ther counsell, and therefore, he thought best to cleare him selff of anie malice towards his sifter: he returnes them with all speede, by the same meanes he receiued ther letters together with Elizabethes, an answer willinge them, by all meanes possible, out of hande to ridde his sifter out of the waie before his cominge, for so long as shee liwed he should never return, nor yeet they see him. But yeet his goode freindis and associates thought if they followed his directions in this point, the treason wold be too manifest to all the world, and the excuses they could make to him at his return, (for they doubted not but Elizabeth could make him come home,) should content and satisfie him; for if without the assemblie of the estates, hawing her person in their owen custodie in Murraies

wombe brothers keeping in a stronge holde, they should attempte to greate a enterprife, they could not aunswere it, but all the people wold crie out on them. And that they might the better content him, as he desired them by the meanes of Elizabeth, an act is concluded, and done by constraint and faire promeses, by which it is notified to the subiectes, that the captiue Queene dismissed her selff of all gowernement of the realme, leawinge the crowne and all the roiale authoritie to the younge Prince her sonne, assigninge vnto him for his regent and tutour the false double hearted traitour Murraie, whome they willed and commanded to be named and called Regent to the King, and all his subiectes and whole realme.

This act, thus framed and procured by Elizabeth and her councell, shee thinkinge the captiue Queene her cusinge wold not so easilie yeelde vnto, as they desired, sent vnto her Maiestie Nicholas Throgmorton, one weele acquainted with such deepe dissembling, deliweringe by him vnto her cusinge letters full of counterfute sorrowe and greiffe, which shee said shee tooke for her misfortune, promesing her all fawour, succour, and aide, and that shee wold come to her in her owen person, leading with her a stronge and mightie armie, to sett her at libertie, restoringe her to her former authoritie, if her subiectes wold not do her reason. But in the meane while, being certifeed and informed that they wold compell her to yeelde vp her crowne to her sonne, and that they wold kille her if shee refused, for the amitie which shee had sworne and woued vnto her, and for the desire shee had to saue her from such inconvenience, and in specielle her liif, shee send her ambassadour to certifie her of the danger shee floode in, and to declare vnto her, that this act could not in anie wais turne to her preiudice, it beinge by force and violence, as it wer, extorted, shee then being in preson, and in the handes of her ennemies, and therefore shee did instantlie praie her to yeelde to the necessitie of the time, and to saue her selff by granting them ther demaundes.

This sudden message and aduertifment weeke sheweth, that nothing was done by Murraie and his complices, without the direction of Elizabeth and her dewilishe counsell, who by all meanes ewer did seeke and procure the ruine of this poore ladie. And the rebelles likewise, not vnmindfull of the busines they had in hand, do send vnto her Maiestie, now captiue in Lochlewin, Lindefaie, a raging, furious, rude, ignorant man in the affaires of the Estate, and one who, except the outward shape, hath no thing belonginge to a man, for, touching the rest, he was blokish and brutish, no thing differing from the beaste. Marcus Varro speaketh of thus, that the life was giuen it for false to hinder the flesh from corruption; for when he commeth to the presence of his Soweraigne Ladie and Mistres, he entereth on his fashion rudlie, without making anie obeisance, without doinge anie reuerence in gestour of bodie, without all preface of honour, and without anie shewe that he ewer had beene her serwant or subiect, and saide he was send vnto her by the nobilitie, who wold haue her to signe that act, which he had in his hand, and that shee should yeelde vp the crowne to the King her sonne, and if shee wold, he tolde her, it wer but to a freinde shee did it, but if shee wold not resigne and signe the act, he wold by constraint and waie of force do both, nill shee will shee, if shee made neuer so litle scruple.

To whose blokish speeche shee made this answere, that shee held no thinge neither of her sonne nor of the nobilitie, and that the Crowne came to her by right of inheritance and succession, and not by giifte from her subiectes; and that on the contrarie, the nobilitie had no thinge in Scotland, but her and her progenitouris, and therefore shee did not a litle merwell of ther impudence and greate ingratitude towardes her, who hath so often pardonned them and forgiuen them ther treacheries, when shee had iuste occasion and power to haue rooted out them and ther posteritie, either by armes or by waie of iustice; but in place thereof, of her owen accorde and gentle nature, to do them goode, and

make them acknowledge ther duetie to her, he had spoiled the better parte of the patrimonie of the Croune, and the reueneus theroff; shee had aduanced them to honour, and enriched them and her self by this meanes made vnable to liue as becometh a Prince of her estate and callinge; and speciallie Murraie, Morton and Marre, the cheiffe plotters and dewisers of all the treacheries and treasons committed against her and her husband; all the goode I did vnto them could not content them, but in steade of acknowledging my bountie and manie benefites done to them, they wold nowe leawe her nothinge, but by violence bereiue of the small remainder, seeking to robbe her of her liif, honour, wealth, and all in a moment. Shee saide shee knewe weeles the butte they shotte at was neither the advancement nor profite of her sonne, nor yeet the publick goode and quiete peace of the realme, but the insatiable desire that her bastarde brother had to be King; who, albeit he so wer aduanced besides his desertes, yeet he could not be so goode, and so naturallie kinde to her sonne as shee. It should be a hard case to take the gowernement from the mother, that knewe howe to commande, and howe to use it, and by longe experience had learned howe to manage the affaires of the state, and who, for the time past, had moderated the yoke, that no person had iuste occasion to complaine they had beene pressed owermuch, or troden vnder foote, to yeelde it to her sonne, not yeet a yeare olde, who, for a longe time to come, could not be able to discerne goode from euill; to satisfie ther desires, it was not fitte that a cruell bastarde, mortall ennemie to the mother, should hawe the superintendencie and noble garde of the sonne, and not shee that was the lawfull heire of the realme, and mother of the infant, whose garde, God, the lawes, custome, and nature itself, gaiue vnto her; and therefore shee ought not, nor wold not, subscribe nor consent vnto such an onlawfull demand, as to resigne and quite the right and title which God and nature had giuen her.

Lindesaie, beinge like vnto him selff, had no pacience to attend the end of the Queenes speach, but alewtrie chaungine his speech did interrupt her, chaunging also his countenance, bending his browes, and frowninge with his face, shaking his heade with an angrie laughter, gawe ewident signes of an vnstable and furious minde; and after manie iniurious and blasphemous wordes against her Maiestie, swearing execrable and denyng his God, if shee did not forthwith signe with her hand this act, that he wold signe it with her bloode, and seale it vpon her heart, and after throwe her into the lake at the foote of the castle, to feede fishes, in steade of a grawe to burie her in.

Notwithstanding all the constancie this Princes hath ewer held before, and all her anguiſhes and adwerſities, hath had an invincible minde in all her actiouns, yeet so it fell out, that being nowe stricken with the apprehension of deathe, and seeing no meanes to helpe her self in such a violence, and weele knowinge the humour of the barbarous inhumane man, disloiale, bloodie, and without all feare of God or lawe, dissemblinge her choler and passiouns of her minde, shee gawe place to present necessitie, and subsigned this mischeiwous act, not enquiringe or readinge the contentes of it, nor the meanes that should be lefte vnto her for her estate: shee praied him onlie this much, werie earnestlie, to do her one fawoure, as shee had done M<sup>r</sup> Robert Melvin, that was sent vnto her, (as I will tell yee heirafter,) to tell in her behalfe those of the nobilitie, that shee entreated them that it might be ther goode pleasure at the least, to heare her iustifications in ther councell, or in the assemblie of the Estates, to whose iudgement shee wold submitt her self in all wheroff she could accuse her, so much did [she] relie and assure herself vpon the puritie of her conscience and innocencie; promising them, in the faith of a Prince, in case shee wer found culpable in anie sorte of the murder of her deceased husband, either by knowledge or consent, shee, not claiming the priuiledge or authoritie of a Queene, wold not

refuse fuch punishment as they fhould impofe and appoint. This request was often refused her, for they had the preie in ther handes, and fo gaiwe a deafe eare to her requestes, and flooted and mocked, yea often threatned them with death that did fpeak fo much as one woorde in her Maiefties fawour. Ther be fome letters to be feene, fubfcribed with Murraies owen hand, in the which he aunfwered her, that fhee could not be harde ewerie time. That her Maieftie fawe her felff fo refused, fhee faide fhee was in the number of thefe who hungred and thirfted after iuftice, which was by her owen fubiectes denied her, but her goode and mercifull God one daie wold do her iuftice, and heare her iuft praiera.

Lindesaie, returning with affaires difpatched, not fo much as thanking her Maieftie, nor taking his leawe as it became him, like a fenfles fott, comminge to the reft of the treacherous focietie of traitoures, reioiceth with them, for that they had no neede, before Murraies returne, to paffe anie further, and practife ther crueltie vpon the perfon of her Maieftie, as they had fullie concluded, if fhee had refused to fubfcribe dimiffion and refignation of the Croune, to be ruled and gowerned by the faide Murraie, as they had determined.

Then Athole and Lethington, principall fecretarie of Eftate, albeit they wer partners in the confpiracie for her emprefonment, yeet feeinge ther complices fought no thing but ther owen particulars, they repented them felwes, and returned to the partie of the Queene, and did aduertife her by Maifter Robert Melvin, praying her moft instantlie to yeelde to the onciwile and iniufte demaundes of a parte of the nobilitie, to prewent greater inconveniences, and to pardon them felwes in the fault they had committed, in fufferinge them felwes to be fo farre abused as to follow the traitoures, who had ewer fworne and protested vnto them, that they attempted no thing againft her Maiefties perfon, and they wold onlie do all againft Boithwell, and thofe who proditorious-

lie, by night and priwie watch, murdered the King ther maister : they saide forder, that her subscribing such an act, thes being in preson, and restrained of her libertie, could not in anie waies be preiudiciall to her, for the goode reasons they gaiwe her by wreeete to understand, and therefore it wer best to saiwe her selff till a forder occasion, for thinges might chainge ; and in token of ther faithfull and true minde towardes her Maiestie, they sent her a faire golden ringe, sett with a torquase.

This adwise, giwen her Maiestie by the Earle of Athol and Secretarie Lethington, did much amaze and astonishe the Queene, and caussed her the more easelie yeelde to the petition of her rebelles ; and otherwise I knowe not, (albeit thes knewe Lindefaie to be a dewilish swollen lump, altogether disposed of reason and vnderstandinge,) whether thes so soone wold haue yeelded vnto his blasphemous suites and petitiones.

The rebelles, haiwing ther determinatioun signed by the Queene, assembled them selwes together at Sterline, wherethé sett the roiale croune vpon the Princes heade, that could not yeet speake, and knewe not what they did was to his greate preiudice, with intention shortlie after to defraud him theroff, and to take awaie after his liffe and croune, as they had alredie the croune from his mother. In this commotion, it is not needfull to enquire whether the ceremonies, in such caces required and used, wer regarded, as the auncient lawes and obserwances of the realme desired, that commande such a thinge to be done in a generall assemblee of all the estates ; but ther was onlie at this action fewen persons that had voice in Parliament, and these no men of marke, but of the least renoune and lowest degrie amongst the nobilitie.

The newes of all these treacheries comming to the hearinge of James Betoun, Archbishop of Glascoue, ordinarie ambassadour for her Maiestie in Fraunce, who was a man woorthie not onlie of such a charge, but also to gowerne a councell, and rule in Estate, and conduct in the

weightiest affaires of the greatest monarch in the world, he shewed vnto the Christian Kinge and his counsell, in greate frequencie, verie grawellie, the whole mater as it was done, and that Murraie was the cheiff dewiser, conductour and executour of all the treacherous conspiracies and treafons practised against the maiestie, honour and liffe of his Mistres; praying in the meane while his Maiestie to staie him, and not to beliue his faire promeses, which he made onlie to deceiwe, but wold neuer keepe on worde forder nor should stand for his owen goode, he hawing made the contrarie to Admirall Colignie, which he wold not faill inuiolablie to keepe, for the forder aduancement of the cause of the rebelles of Fraunce and Scotland. Murraie, hearing by some of his fawourites, howe he was like to speed if he staied to answere, knowinge him self guiltie of these imputatiouns, in all haiste getteth him to his speede, and leaweth Fraunce, and posteth into England, to conferre with Queene Elizabeth and her counsell in the adwise the said Admirall had giuen him, and heirupon to take certane resolution.

Elizabeth and her counsell, knowinge howe all thinges went in Scotland, and howe her cusinge was nowe keepte sure, and lookinge forder to her goode likinge by the service to be done her by this Judas, who was the onlie cause of the betrayinge of his Mistres, hath nowe a newe promese made vnto him, for the continuation of the paiement of 4000 li. s. Starlinge, to be weeie paid him, as it was used to be, with assurance of her aide, fawour and succour, in all his interprises, willing him to post into Scotland in all haiste, which he did accordinglie. And ther arriwinge, tooke notice of the course of his affaires in his absence, and seeinge his designes furthered besides his expectation, he beganne forthwith to put of his maske of hypocrisie, shewinge to the world his disloialtie, and the litle faith which men of his treade and crafte take of ther othes as he did of his made to the Kinge of France and the Lordes of Lorrane, he obliging him selff to God and man, and accep-



inge manie faire jewelles, they all gawe him besides greate fowmes of golde. At his first arriwall he calleth a Parliament, albeit he hadno power so to do, to ratifie and approwe the negociatiounes of his complices, which they had done for him in his absence, to the preiudice of the Queene, the Prince her sonne, and the state of the whole realme.

This convocatioun and assemblie of the Estates, was more solemne then others that they made since or before this time; for, to the end no thinge might be wanting to this buildinge, and that ther maner of proceedinge might not be declared neue and unlafull, for wante of ceremonies which have ewer vnder the Kinges or ther liwetennantes beene accustomed in such case to be religiouse obserwed, they caused thither to come, to represent the ecclesiasticall estate and spiritualitie, the venerable often periured and foirsworne father, Mr Adam Boithwell, whom for this purpose they beforehand helped him to be made bishoppe of the Orcades, a camelion, a forcerar and execrable magitian, a perfect atheist, and for manie causes much exclaimed vpon by the comoune people, who, him self being vpon the conspiracie of the rebellious traitours, was chosen by them to solemnize the mariage of ther brother Boithwell with the Queene, and after caused him to blame it and speake against it at Yorke, in the assemblie before the commissioners, whom Elizabeth had apointed to take knowledge of the cause then in question. This worthie prelate, accompanied with two or thrie abbotes and priours, of the same flampe [with] him self, was all Murraies neare kinred or allies, represented the spirituall Estate: God knoweth howe weeke the church was represented by such treacherous people, foirsworne atheistis and whoremaisters, and worse if worse could be.

The greatest of the realme, and who had greatest interest in the affaires to be propounded by Murraie, wer not present, perswadinge themselwes that the rebelles wold be the stronger partie, and that they should gaine no thinge, but be contradict, because iustice should take no

place. Yeet the Earles of Huntlie and Argile, with the Lord Harrife and some other Lordes, came thither, and vndertooke an act of opposition, asweele to the dimission made by the Queene, as for the erection of the laide Murraie to be Regent and gowernour of the realme; saying and alledging that the subscription of her Maiestie, by him shoven and produced, could not be a sufficient warrant for the Estates in a mater of so greate weight and importance, for it was gotten of her against her minde, shee being threatned therunto throwe feare of imminent death, and, therefore, they saide they could not, nor wold not, approue as goode in lawe in ther consciences, a mater of so great consequence done in her captiuitie, if they did not see her at owen libertie of her owen accorde villinglie, and that by the adwise of the Estates, do all these thinges. But for all this, ther oppositiouns and ther remonstrances tooke no place, and wer no thinge woorth; force had the vpper hand ower righte, and the traitouris exceeded in number the true subiectes and serwantes of the croune. It is not therefore to be merualed if the conclusion of the mater turned to Murraie and his complices goode likinge, for the lawfull inheretrix of the croune is deprived of her estate roiale, and in shewe for a infant is adiudged to the bastarde Murraie, a double and false hearted traitour to God and man.

But before we passe anie further, let us consider the dissembling and cunning of the rebellious traitouris. At the first interprise, they falslie saide and waunted they wer the Queenes most affectionat serwantes, and that they had taken weapons in hand onlie to deliuer her from the captiuitie of Boithwell, to whome onlie they wished wengeance and punishment, asweele for the rawishment of her Maiestie, as for the murder and affasination of the Kinge ther maister; protesting with most fearefull and horrible othes, when the laide Boithwell was retired, to laie ther weapons aside, and to giue her the service, honour and

respect due to ther foweraigne Ladie and Mistres. But after that ther princes had, in ower greate simplicitie, credited and beleiwed them, dismissing her armie, lewing Boithwell to do for him selff as he could, and come in person to them, then hawinge her in ther handes, they make no more account of Boithwell; they put her in a cage; they leawe Boithwell to his ease and rest; they suffered him manie monethes together to liue peaceable after in the cuntrie, and that in place so neare and adioining vnto them, that if they had so much desire, as they made shewe of, to punishe him, they might hawe done it.

But if they had beene too busie, they feared all the mysterie of iniquitie should hawe beene laide open, and ther knawerie discowered; then the Queenes innocencie beene made knownen, had cutte the throate of all ther treacherous designes, and they had beene discredited for ewer. Nowe, like the scholars of ther father Machiwell, they thinke it the fairest waie for them to keepe them selwes abowe, whether they wer climed they be content to change the subiect of ther malice and the person, and grounde ther rebellious enterprises vpon the Queene, sayinge they demaunded iustice of the death of the King; they speake no more of Boithwell, (for the causes foirlaid,) who was therein but ther executioner; they betake themselwes to ther Mistres, as if shee had beene the onlie authour of this abominable crime; they charge her with it, and for prowe theroff, and to make Boithwell afraied, that he might be gone and retire him selff foorth of the cuntrie, they killed certan gentlemen innocent of the fact; and certane serwantis of Boithwellis, guiltie of the heinous crime, wer executed to death, after they had beene extraordinariellie racked, to drawe some one woorde, if they could be driven therto throwe the paine of the torment, althought not true in the selff, against ther Mistres, after ewerie blowe and stroake of the bitle or hammer, askinge whether ewer her Maiestie had spoken to them of the acte, or commaunded the murder of her husband. O God, beholde

what notable iustice ! in steade of extorting the thorowe knowen truth, they laubour with tooth and naile to seduce a false blasphemous accusation, and by force of tormentes laubour to make a prow, seeking to corrupt witneses, suggesting to them a thinge newer done nor thought vpon by them whom they thinke by this meanes to entrap. Such people hawe newer studied the lawes howe they ought to hawe proceeded in the true waies and beaten pathes of true dewote iustice.

But who hath ordeined this inquisition ? who is the iudge ? who is cheiff and president theroff ? who be the assistants ? who be the accusers ? All the Queenes mortall ennemies, both iudges and others, ewen the werie dewisers, furtherars, forwardsetters, counsellours, practisers and butchers of her husband. Who ewer hard of such iustice ! Though they tormented these poore creatouris, they themselwes who caused them to be tormented, wer as woorthie to hawe vndergone the same triale, and to hawe taisted of the same sauce. But notwithstandinge anie torment they could uise, to bringe foorth so much as one worde against her Maiestie to her preiudice, they wold newer accuse her, saying often, fie vpon such crueltie, they wold not speake against her to condemne themselwes to the deuil, do what they wold against ther bodie, ther soules was Godis.

They often protested and swore her innocencie, saying that her Maiestie was altogether ignorant of the enterprise, and that Murraie, Morton and ther partners and complices wer the authouris theroff, and subscribed and signed it with ther handes the acte and the execution of the cruell deede, and that manie times they had seene ther signes and the instrument of all the whole complete in the handes of the Earle of Boithwell ther maister ; and that the principall of these mennes freindes and adherentes assisted, and freindes helped with ther handes the execution of the cruell murder, the wengeance and punishment wheroff nowe they made shewe to prosecute vpon ther bodies, wheras

they themfelwes wer more deeplie therin interefted then they ; which thing [they] wowed to declare folemnlie at ther executiouns before all the people, telling the truth then as thè looked to be faiwed ; and fo they wer as goode as ther woorde at ther laft breth, curfing and banninge Murraie and all his complices, that had fo betraied them and ther maiftres, after they had fett them a worke.

They greatlie charged Mr Archebald Douglas, neare kinnifman to Morton, to be the principall actour in this damnable murder, whom thefe goode confcionable iudges did newer urge, nor ones name in the proceffe of ther verbale queftion in controuerfie nowe debated, for that it wold hawe blotted fome of hie place, for whom then he then was in place ; but yeet nevertheleffe the faide Mr Archebalde, by manie letters wretin with his owen hand to his miftres fince her detention in England, yea, fince the execution of Morton, hath adwouched and declared that [he] knewe not onlie the intention of Murraie and Morton allone, and others of the nobilitie ther confederates, touchinge the death of her husband, but alfo hath acknowledged his faulte for beinge ther by ther commandement and foliftatioun at the deed doinge ; which he communicated before to Secretarie Lethington for the parte of the faide Morton, to the intent to affure that he had no hope to do it in despite of her, but by an other meanes.

This proceeding againft Boithuellis ferwantes terrifeed him felff fo much, that he beganne to looke to him felff, and proceeded to take the fea, failinge alonge the coafte ; but the conspiratouris feeinge that he retired not, but that he wandered vp and doune from one place to an other, without anie figne and demonftratioun to abandon the cuntrie, they noifed it abroad that he was become a pirate and fcourer of the fea ; and therfore they rigged and furnifhed foorth fome fhippes to keepe him in, which thinge they might hawe werie weele done if they wold ; but they wer werie weele content to make a showe, not at all affaulting him, to make him begone

out of the cuntrie : And so by longe wanderinge vpon the sea, he landeth in Denmarke, where beinge knowen by some Scottishe merchantes, he was taken and empresoned, where, after he had liued in that state some ten yeares, he departed this life, confessinge his griewouse crime, askinge pardon of God in a most deepe and bitter remorse of conscience, blaminge and rewilinge the first authouris of it, whome he named by ther names and furnames, and in the presence of a Bishope and other Lordes of Denmarke, who wer present at his death, and wer witnesse of his last woordes; in the which he did discharge the Queene his mistres of the faëte imposed to her by those who wer the principall authouris and actoures in it: he confessed the murder by him committed, and the mariage with his mistres, and the maner of proceedinge in all this busines, to haue been enterprised and ended by the adwise of Murraie and Morton, and ther adherents, as is alredie abowe saide.

These thinges beinge maters of such a hie consequence, wer faithfullie receiued from Boithwellis owen mouth by speciall commande from the Kinge of Denmarke, and after they wer related to the Kinge, sent by him to the most of the Princes of the Christianitie, but namelie to Queen Elizabeth, who could in no waies excuse her cruell tyrannie in mantaininge the false traitouris against her conscience, to accuse ther mistres, her nearest kinniswoman, of such a heinous crime, wheroff shee was innocent. But we will referre this mater to the owen place, and returne againe to our first digression.

After the Generall Assemblie of the states broken vp, Murraie, seeinge himselfe in the hieft degrie of his fortunes, and that nowe he wanted no thinge but the croune of a Kinge, as the affectiouns of men neuer end in the begininge of the thing they desire, but it ordinarilie hapneth that the successe of an vn hoped goode ones atchiwed engendereth hope of a greater, for this wicked sonne of Agar, not contented of his estate, and seeinge that he had to deale with an infant whom he had in his power,

afweele as his mother, to difpofe of ther perfons, if and when he pleafed, and that ther no thinge remained nowe but to come and gett the people to have an goode opinion of his defignes, he beganne to call himfelff the lafull begotten fonne of King James 5 deceased, and that his mother was the Kinge his father true and lafull wiff, and that ther was promefe of mariage betuine them before the mariages after contracted, and that that appeared by lafull actes and autentike inftumentes that wer to be founde, yeet within the recorde of the officialtie of St Andrewes, when neede required, and that that promefe was not, waine nor fruftrate in that the effect theroff followed in that it was fullie accomplifhed by carnall copulation and procreation of children, the true teftimonies of mariage. Marke the faire fpeeches he ufed to waunt of amongeft his freindes that he thought lowed him weele, that they might blafe the fame abroad amongeft the people. He thought by thefe meanes to fupplant the true bloode roiale, and to turne the peoples affection not onlie from the Queene, but alfo from the Prince her fonne. But this fo much failed him for adwancinge of his caufe, that by this his fhameles lie, on the contrarie wer therby fturred vp not a fewe of the greateft which before had affifted him to forfake him; for if his mother, (thought they with themfelves), had beene the lafull wiff of Kinge James 5, as he impudentlie pretended, then had Ladie Magdalen Valoys, the eldeft daughter of Fraunce, and Ladie Marie of Lorrain, beene no thinge ellis but ftrumpettes and harlottes, and not the Kinges lafull wiues, and Queene Marie and her fonne had been but baffardes, and coulde pretend no right to the realme of ther father.

Thefe propofitiouns beinge urged with his dewiliſh intention to put the younge Prince to death, followinge the counsell given him in England, if he could not come otherwife to the heade of his defignes, was the caufe that manie noblemen and gentlemen foundinge ther confcience lefte him, and amongeft others this greiued fo much the Earle of Athol and the

Lord of Hume, and others of marke, that they altogether forfooke Murraies pairte, repentinge themfelwes too late that they had helped to exalt him, and wer led by fuch a gule that could not be contented with the honour he had to be reputed the naturall sonne of King James the fift, but muft needes alfo be Kinge in his place as his lafull sonne, when as he was nothinge leffe, beinge the sonne of one Porterfeild chalmer groome to the Lord Erskine. But for all this, he wanted not agents in his busines and promoters of his designs, who did giue out vnto the world, that simple and naked mariage is not awailable contract, although it be confirmed with carnall copulation and procreation of children, if you haue made anie former promese or contract to anie other person, the first carieth it awaie. By this meanes, to strengthen the pretended mariage alledged by Murraie, and to inueste him with the crowne, to defraude Queene Marie and her sonne, it was necessarie to sett this doctrine for goode and founde abroad. Besides the false brutes and defamatorie libelles made against the Queene and her murdered husband, they saide they doubted whether the begettinge of the sonne ought to be attributed to the Kinge, or to the secretarie Dauid Rizzio. See the shamelesse impudencie of the dewilish men, who, albeit a litle before they had crowned him and aknowledgeged him for ther lafull Kinge, yeet nowe they chaunge ther minde, for indirect respectes not beseiminge true christianes.

Other absurde pointes, for the better furtherance of Murraie in his attempts, wer constantlie helde and diwulged, as that it was not lafull for women to gowerne and rule kingdomes and commoun wealthes, Knox. and the crowne ought not to go by succession, but by election. But to Buchanan. what end wer these goodlie axiomes proposed, but to defraud Queene Marie and her sonne of the crowne, and to sett it vpon the bastardes heade, subuertinge all auncient politie of kingdomes and commoun wealthes in the cheiffe fundamentall pointes, takinge awaie the force of



the old customes and lawes so religiousely obserued from all antiquitie in all ages. No merwell that Murraie did challenge the croune, and become as it wer infatuate and insolent in aspiringe to attaine it by these goodlie iuglinge trickes; for on a time when he went to Loch-lewen where the Queene was in the keepinge of her wombeborne brother, his cariage towards her as of a King towards his subiect, without anie dewe regarde of honour or respect vnto her person, which, when diuers did see his insolent dewilishe pride, mowed them to take pitie and compassion of the noble ladies distressed estate, and amongest others, the said Murraies youngest wombe borne brother was so mowed thairat, that thereafter he sought all oportunitie, and left no thinge vndone to sett her frie of her emprefonment, which he thus brought to goode effect: first, Murraies youngest brother George Douglas, grudgine to see her Maiestie so euil entreated by those who should not hawe doone it, did winne and gaine some of the Queenes gwairde to his opinion to sett the Queene frie, and amongst others ane Williame Douglas, a youth of 16 or 17 years of age, who carefullie tooke oportunitie when he espied a fitte time: And vpon Sundaie the seconde of Maie, when the maister of the house, Murraies eldest wombe borne brother, did fitte at table at denner, the keies wer conweied from vnder him out of his chire, wher he did fitte by the said youth: they shutte the gates fast after them, and locke all fast within the castle, so that none could follow them; they tooke a litle boate and brought the Queene saiwe to the bankes of the lake, where a goode companie did expect her Maiesties comminge, and so shee was streight waie conwoied to the castle of Hamilton.

In this meane while was Murraie poolinge and peeling the poore subiectes, hanginge by the purse these that could bringe him monie wer ther offence newer so greate, but others by the necke albeit ther faulte wer newer so smalle, that brought him not monie. Such was the lowe

he had to iustice in the keeping of his iustice session then at Glascow, that God seeinge his wiked designs, to staie him of his wicked courtes, gawe an other busines to busie him about: for in this meane while, the newes of the Queenes deliwerie comminge to his eares maketh him amazed, and bringes him in such a rage and furie throwe astonishment, that he knoweth not to what hand to turne him. But after he had recovered him selff of his passiouns, he sendeth in all haiste to his fellowe complices and traitours, Morton, Glencarn, Marre, Lindefaie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ochiltrie, Cathcart and Glames, with manie others: On the parte [of] the Queenes subiectes, true in hearte, came in all haiste to her Maiesties succour and aide, who wer the families of Hammilton, Levingstoun, Campbell, Fleminge, Bruce, the Earle of Rothus, the Lord Harfise, the Lairde of Wacton, Balwerie, Lochinwer, with diuerse others: The Earle of Huntlie and the Lord Ogilbie was a cominge out of the north towards the Queene, but was a graite waie from her Maiestie, so that they could not come to wine them selwes to her Maiesties armie in time, so that the rebellis tooke the oportunitie both of time and place, before all her Maiesties forces wer assembled together, and the Earle of Argilles forces as yeete wer not come to wine with her true subiectes. The Queene, ewer desirous to spare the shedding of her subiectes bloode, as it became a goode Prince, thought best to retire her selff to her castle of Dumbarten, a holde inexpregnable, and to saiwe her selff from the iniuries of her ennemies till a better fortune; but whill as shee is goinge towards the saide castle, accompanied with a goode companie of her faithfull subiectes, but not hawinge all her forces with her, the rebellious traitouris had entrinched and encamped them selwes in a cuntrie wilage called the Langeside, which waie shee must needes passe: and this they wer councelled to do by one of the Queenes partie, who hath ewer beene a man that had borne two faces; for as the night before he came from Murraie to betraie his mistres, so the nexte daie he plaid

the traitouris, and lefte her in the diffrefle. In the night before the battle, this falfe double diflembling hearted traitour, the Lord Boide, who ewer, like Judas, followed for to hawe the full bagge, wrete to Murraie that her Maieftie thought beft not to precipitate the mater, but onlie to make her owen perfon in the caftle of Dumbarton, till ſhee had affembled all her forces, which wer in the fardeft partes of the realme. Theſe letters Murraie receiued about midnight, which he communicated to his complices, who adwiſed him in all haſte to ſend forth certain troupes to lie in amuscado and ambuſhment by the waie the Queene came, and they them ſelwes wold followe with the maine battle. Murraies partie tooke the oportunitie both of the place and the funne, which did helpe them much in the fighte, which was feughten werie fearcelie: but the thing that gauled the Queenes paitie was, that hawinge ther feilde peeces ſtinted and ſett behinde the armie, and Murraie his pieces, and a greate number of harquebuſhes and muſcaters in orchardes, ſhootinge them of againſt the Queenes folkes, forced them to retire after they had broken ther launces, ſwordes and ſpeares in the fight, they tooke them ſelwes to ther daggers to defend them ſelwes, and in the end they gaiwe place to the furious ennemie. In the combate wer ſlaine 57 gentlemen, moſt of the name of Hammliton, and 27 preſoners wer taken.

Thus the victorie fallinge to Murraie, the Queene, fearinge the crueltie of the traitour, guarded with two or thrie cornettes, haifteth towardes England, and wold newer ſtaie till ſhee came to Lochmaben, where her counsell did fitte, which did adwiſe her, whatſoever ſhee did, not to go within England, for the manifold experiences her Maieſties anceſtouris had of perfidious dealinge of the Engliſhe againſt ther faith and credite towardes them. Some of her beſt affectionat ſubiectes then there offered her Maieſtie ther ſtrong houſes and holdes, wherein ſhee might be defended againſt the wiolence of all her ennemies, boith of

England and Scotland, till all the whole companie of all her faithfull freindes should come to her succour, if perhappes anie durste be so impudentlie bolde thus to assault her Maiestie. Others did counsell her to retire her self into some of her owen stronge holdes and castles, neare vnto which shee might haue such meanes to expect such aide and succour. Others praied her to flie into Fraunce, offering them selues to be her guides and conducters thither: but shee her self tooke full resolution to trie nowe in time of neede, the often promised fauour and goode will of Elizabethe of Englande, for shee sawe the desperate dealinge of the bastarde and his complices, and had alredie tried it; and as yeet, hawinge the apprehension of deathe in her hearte, wherwith they had often threatned her Maiestie, to go into Fraunce, in such disaraie without weffellis, without a competent number of follouers fitting for her estate, and want of her roiale furnitour, shee said shee could not, nor wold not, in regarde of the former greate pompe and traine attended ones her thither, and thence home againe, when shee returned into Scotland.

None of her faithfullest subiectes and serwandes councillis did like her minde, sayinge, shee wold truste her self in the handes of her nearest kinniswoman and cusing Elizabeth, whose amitie and freindshepe shee was sure of, boith in regarde shee caried with her the pledges and gages of her promised freindshepe and constant lowe which shee had send her, and also the letters which shee had written vnto her, full of honest offers and fauour to succoure her when and as often as neede should require: for howe soone her Maiestie came foorth of Lochlewin, shee sent to Elizabeth a gentleman, deliivering vnto him a jewell, which was a faire diamonde, receiued before as a token of mutuall amitie, so longe as they two should liue together, from her ambassadour Throgmorton, for the better conferming of the promeses shee made vnto her, which was to aide her against all her ennemies and rebelles, and if it would please her Maiestie to retire her self into England, that shee wold come in her

owen person so farre as the frontiers, to receiwe and affist her with all her power and mighte.

This was the cause that her Maiestie did enteirlie relie her self vpon the faithfull promeses of Elizabeth made by Throgmorton and diuers otheres, and that if shee did not promese, yeet shee wold not be so shamelesse and wicked as to breake the righte of hospitalitie, either to uise her hardlie her self, or to delyver her in the handes of her mortall ennemies, but giue her frie passage and libertie to retire her self home amongest her faithfull subiectes, who wold defend her with ther liwes, landes and goodes, or ellis to go forwarde towards Fraunce, which shee best liked.

Thus shee wold giue no place to her faithfulest subiectes counsell and reasons, but did offer and caste her self in the armes of her ennemie, who had greatest interest in gewinge counsell for takinge ordour for the death of her husband, and thirsted after her bloode. Shee expected that Elizabeth wold have helped her to take wengeance of the murder of her husband, he beinge the secunde heire of her croune, and he beinge so neare of her owen bloode. Shee thought to hawe made her innocencie knowne to her and her nobilitie, and to hawe cleared her self of all the false calumnies which the committers and authouris of the cruell murder imposed vpon her, wheroff shee was innocent, and by her support so cruell and damnable a designe might have beene punished : Shee thought shee should hawe founde ther Ladie Margaret Douglass, her husbandes mother, that wold hawe ioined with her in the persuite of such a damnable crime, that it might hawe clearlie and manifestlie appeared vnto the world who wer the execrable committers theroff, that the truth beinge fullie examined, they might hawe beene punished accordinglie. These reasons thoroulie perswaded her to make choice of England, for her refuge befor manie other places, where shee might hawe beene more kindlie used.

But the most Rewerend father, Mr John Hammilton Archbishop of

St Andrewes, and Primate of Scotland, a man of greate yeares and longe experience, newer could be of her Maiesties minde, he newer thought her opinion, he knowinge, from time to time, the infidelitie of Elizabethes auncestouris, of her selfe and ther counsellis; he plainelie tolde her Maiestie that manie of her Maiesties auncestouris, too lightlie trustinge the promeses of the English, wer brought to all extreme necessitie in liewe of ther promised freindshipe, to the greate danger of ther realmes: for example he sett before her eyes, and shewed her howe Kinge James the First, grandfather to her greate uncle, thinkinge to go into Fraunce, whether Kinge Robert his father had sent him to awoide the tyrannie of his uncle, was taken presoner in quiet time of peace, hawinge landed on the north coaste of England at Flameburgh, to take the freshe aire, beinge then seven yeares of age, when he could not in anie waies have anoied the English; for all this they keepte him fast 17 yeares, and in the end, against the lawe of natiounes, made him raunfom him selff, payinge weeles therfore, as if he had beene taken in iuste warre and oppen hostilitie: the father hearing of those forroufull newes, within thrie daies after, died of melancholie. Henrie 2 of England delte so with Malcolme the fourth of that name king of Scotland, and after him with his sonne William king of Scotland, whome boith he entreated to come to London in pretence of amitie and freindshipe, but he wold not suffer them to go backe till they had done him homage for Cumberland, Northumberland, and the Erldomes of Huntington and Chester, which he held in his realme; he led them captiues beyond seis to be spectatoures of his warres in Fraunce, by that meanes to breke the auncientest league in the chistianitie, and make his subiectes the Scottishe rewolte from the French, who did most constantlie with all force resist and beate backe the attemptes of the English, that they could not, nor wer not, able to subdue the French, as they thought to have done. This Henrie before had sworne newer to truble the Kinges of Scot-

land for these seigneories; after, when the saide Malcome knighted him, cominge into Cumberland by the conduct of his mother vnto him to craiue aide for the recouering of his right to the croune of England, without whose aide he had neuer beene kinge: This faithlesse man, before they came thither, swore and faithfullie promised neuer to demaunde or do anie thinge to the preiudice of ther persons and rightes of ther crounes. Alexander Duke of Albanie, brother to Kinge James 3, greate uncle to her Maiestie, returning from Flanders from the Duke of Guilderland his grandfather, whom he went to see, was also taken by the Englishe vpon the sea in time of peace, and without all cause detained presoner till they wer forced, by open denunciation of warre, for feare to lett him go frie, and restore him all his weffellis and furnitur, which they against the lawe of armes had taken. He forder tolde her Maiestie manie other declaratiounes and remonstrances, and more in speciall he shewe her the mortall hatred that Elizabeth did beare her, together with the confederatiounes wer betuine her and her mortall enemies, which by her persuation, counsell and adwise, and by her aide, fawoure and supporte, had acted so manie terrible tragedies in Scotland.

But all this, and much more, could [not] remowe out of the heade of this Princes the confidence and assurance shee had in the promeses of her cusinge Elizabeth, which, when the venerable father and prelate perceived that shee wold caste her selff in a certane danger, as shee tooke water to go to her destanie in this satall cuntrie, he humblie fell vpon his knees, seizinge vpon her Maiesties bodie with boith his armes, saide vnto her with manie teares, that shee wold be trubled to drawe him with her if shee went fordward her determined iorney, he beinge so olde and so onable to trawell; he besought her to giue him leiue to retire, seeinge he could not resist her: he then tolde her yeet ones againe flatlie, shee was goinge to vndo her selff, her estate and realme; and all her faworites and faithfull serwantes; he praied her therefore

to giue him a note of her remonstrances, to fortifie those of the House of Hammilton in time of place, and all the other Lordes that had followed her in all her troubles.

In this meane while, in a rage ranne thorowe the cuntrie Murraie like a wilde boare, depopulatinge the landes of the Queenes faithfull subiectes, robbing them of ther goodes and pullinge doune ther holdes and houses, persuinge them with fire and sworde whether soeuer he came, confiscatinge all ther mowables for his owen particular use: Hammilton, Draffen, Skirlinge, and Lochinwar, together with the most of the holdes and fortresses situate vpon the riuer of Clide, besides manie mo places, can witnes this to be true.

So the Queene pairtinge from this venerable father, after shee had yeelded him his petition, cometh to Workington, the first toune vpon the frontiers of England, and from thence to Cokermouth, and from thence to Carlel, thinkinge thence to go directlie to the Courte to finde her cusing, to throwe her selfe in her armes, and to shoue her greiues to her and her Councell: but howe soun Elizabeth was aduertised of her cominge, shee commaunded shee should be kepte presoner, and staied vnder sure garde and keepinge, that shee should not escape or go bake anie where.

Thus shee caused her be staied so farre from Court, lest shee feeinge her, should blush because of her letters and faire promeses shee had made vnto her, but now was not minded to keepe them. The pre-texte of this restraunte to keep her from fallinge into the handes of her rebellious subiects, and that shee wold send her backe into her owen realme with an armie and stronge garison at convenient time, by this meanes making her kinniswoman liue in hope, whenas shee did no thinge but hinder her to retire, or to demaunde succour of others. Shee caused her first be staied at Carlel, and from thence to be led to Bolton castle by my Lord Scroope. To which place Fraunces Knoules, capitan



of Elizabethes garde, was sent, who galled her most terrible with reproaches and infinite indignities.

In this meane while, the Scottish nobilitie, prowoked with this treason done to ther mistres by Elizabethes treacherie, did assemble them selwes together in armes with full intent to punishe the traitouris, and to roote out all these of that faction; and Huntlie, Craufurde and Ogilbie, accompanied with fixe thousand men, had now marched fordwarde towards St. Johnston, and Argile had now passed the riwer of Duiwon with thrie thousand men, the Hamiltones with Cassilles, Eglinton and Maxwell, with the greatest parte of the armie, expected ther cominge at Glascoue, the place appointed for the generall meetinge. But Murraie perceiwinge him self feble and waike, not able to encounter with so greate an armie, in all haiste sendeth to Elizabeth, prayinge her to giue speedie ordoure for his distresse, and to succour him, ellis he wer vndon, and all his designes brocken. Elizabeth, hearing these newes, dispatches one presentlie to the Queene, to declare vnto her the oppression of her people, and the wakninge of her realme by those ciuile troubles, and if it continowed, the losse wold turne to her; and therefore shee ought by all meanes possible, to preferue her subiectes, least thinking to roote out the euil shee should destroe the goode: and for this cause her adwise was, that shee should commande the lordes of her parte to retire them selues home, and not nowe afreshe to beginne new sturres and broiles; wherein shee her self wold take such goode ordour that shee should stand weele content therwith. This adwise of Elizabeth was followed, and commandement forthwith giuen to her faithfull subiectes to leawe the enterprise and returne to ther houses, assuringe them of the assistance of Elizabeth, and of the promise that shee had to her made, to bringe her backe to her realme with such an armie that her ennemies should not darre look vpon the. But all these promises wer frustrat, and no thinge elles but delaies and deceates, to keepe the poore Ladie in suspence till

Murraie had dispatched his affaires, and broughte vnder the Queenes goode ferwantes, one after an other, so distracted and separated.

If Elizabeth meant to send her cufinge backe againe, and succour her in her distresse, why detained shee her vpon the bordours, where her rebelles might sooner do her harme, nor at her courte, whither shee should hawe caused her be conweied, like a prince as shee was, to be kepte in princelie dignitie, till shee had beene as goode as her woorde in accompanyinge her homewarde as farre forth as the frontiers, with an armie to sett her in authoritie againe ower her owen kingdome? But Elizabethes auncestours, fugitiues from England by the rebellion of ther subiectes, wer not so proditoriouſlie dealte with in Scotland: Example Henrie 6 chased from the possession of his croune by the Duke of Yorke, seekinge to saiue him selff from the furie of his ennemie till a better oportunitie, came in Scotland, with his Queene, children, brethren and uncles, cufinges, and manie Lordes that followed him, wer not kepte prersons by Kinge James 3; but this Kinge did leade him to his courte, and roiallie entertained him with all his companie, and so long as he pleased to staie, permitted him to laike nor want no thinge fitte for the estate of a Kinge; and after had beene thus entertained as longe as he pleased, perceiwing him desirous to returne home againe into his kingedome, he helped him with an armie to recover his right, and subdewe his rebellious subiectes: he made no subtile plottes, and dewised [no] treacherous flightes to trappe the distressed Kinge: he practised not against him by intelligences from his enemies, as Elizabeth doeth. Shee, in liewe and recompence of so manie goode offices done to her auncestour by the greate grandfather of this Ladie, crossed with fortune, hawinge recourse vnto her vpon the assurance of her promise by her letters and ambassadouris, which should be abowe all other thinges a holie and inviolable thinge, prepareth for her at her entrie in her realme, a prerson farre from her fighte; shee causeth

her be braiued daielie, apointinge sawage inhuman perfons, that had no thinge of men but the outwarde shape or shewe. Was [it] the womanlie and courteous nature of a prince, to insulte vpon the distressed, and aggrauat the miseries of her nearest kinnifwoman in the world, and apoint others to do the like, who, insteade of guarding her, onworthelie abuse her, no white at all respecting her roiale person?

In the meane time, shee thinketh yeet to gulle mennes eies and dazell them, to make them beliue that of lowe shee keepeth her in saiue-guarde from the iniuries of her rebellious subiectes, with whom shee hath dailie intelligence, helpinge forwarde ther treasons againsther cufinge, of the which treacherie shee is the onlie cheiff architect, builder, dewifer, procurer and heade counsellour.

But to returne to the purpose. The nobles of the parte of the Queene hawing laide ther weapons aside by her commandement, at the treacherous request and persuation of Elizabeth, that Murraie and Morton his liwetenant mighte keepe their authoritie, vnder which for the present Scotland nowe was, without resistance or gaine sayinge of anie person whatsoeuer, shee wrote to Murraie, that forren princes might take offence, not onlie at the persuite which he made against his mistres, but also at her restrainte in England, shee beinge a frie prince, and not subiect to the power of anie other, if ther were not some shewe of iustice made that might leade them to do this: and for this cause her counsell was, that some forme of proceffe should be made against her, and that shee should be accused of her husbandes death, a thinge of it self so odious, that it wold mitigate the heartes of those which wer kindled with desire of reuenge for the euil entreatie of such a Ladie, not onlie by her subiectes, who seemed, for religions cause, to hawe some reason of discontentment, but also by her, who was her nearest kinnifwoman, and that ought, by the lawe of nature, to defend her and mantaine her against the force and violence of all her ennemies whatsoeuer: that this forme and shewe of iustice wold

giue cullour to all ther designes, and appease the grudge and indignation of other princes, and shutte the mouthes of her parentes and freindes in France, that wer ther ennemies: that he should send, or come him selff in all assurance, and that should bringe with him men of counsell to urge and sett forward this accusation, and that they should be werie weeles harde to the end of the busines, neither in the fighte nor hearinge of ther mistres, but by her agentes and procurars, who should hawe longe time to replie, or saie anie thinge for her iustification to cleare her. Thus the cruell accusatioun beinge resolwed vpon and vnderstoode, the Queenes agentes should be disturbed howe soone they should enter a litle to answere in the mater before the Commissioners apointed by Elizabeth, and to iustifie ther mistres in her righte: the assemblie should be broken vp [by] some Alman quarrell, (as we use to saie), or sudder fraie to that purpose, or some other occasion or accident, wheroff they could procure anewe for the serwing their turne, and feinyed to happen, to the end they might hawe no time nor leasure to iustifie ther mistres innocencie.

Murraie, likinge this counsell weeles, determined to send some of his best and surest freindes, the most apparent of his faction, with memorialles and instructiounes to urge the accusation against his mistres, fearinge least it should seeme odious to the English nobilitie, and not fitting his mouth, he being the naturall brother to the accused, and advanced by her in goodes and honours, hawing no meanes but which he had by her bountifulnes; but refused of his favorites in his determination, who feared asmuch the shame of the cause as him selff, and the crueltie and infamie of the persuite intended against ther mistres, before it should leaue he tooke purpose (all shame sett aside), to go him selff in persone to followe it. He took with him those speciallie who had euer serwed him before in all his wiked enterprises against his mistres; and to cullour the mater the better, he was not ashamed to giue out

that the thrie Estates of Scotland had alredie iustified the accusatioun against his maistres ; and for prowe theroff, he had brought with him of ewerie estate some to cleare the mater, which wer the dewilish magitian forcerar of the Orcades, his hired man, of whome we hawe spoken before, Mr Robert Pitcarne, a filthie, adulterous whoremaister, who kept all his liffe an other mannes wiff, Abbot of Dunnfermeling ; and these did represent the spirituall estat ; the Earle of Morton and Lindeisaie, as filthie consciensles men, for the nobles ; and Mr James M'Gill and Mr Henries Balnawes, counsellouris and lawers of the Session and Bench of Estate, for the thirde estate ; together with Mr George Buchanan, whome he brought to giwe apparence to ther lies, in painted woordes of eloquence, framed before hand for the purpose in latine, that it might be sent in Fraunce, Germanie and other forren natiouns who understood not the Englishe language. This wicked man constrained also to go in his companie, Sire William Metellan of Lethington, who often refused to do it, who in conscience knewe the weritie of the facte, and that the cheiffe accuser and constraner of him to wndertake the iornie, was more guiltie of the crime nor his liege Ladie and mistres ; but knowinge weele the humour of the man, he durste not refuse incace it should hawe coaste him his heade.

The time of meetinge apointed by Elizabeth drawinge on, Thomas Howarde, duke of Norfolke, the first of the nobilitie of England in honour, goodes and reputation, and the Earle of Suffex, and Ralphe Sadler, counsellour of estate, wer sent to take notice, and heare the grievances of the two parties. In this meane while, the Queene seeinge her vnnaturall accusars, much degeneratinge from the curage and spirite of ther auncestouris, and to follow the footsteppes of John Baliol, that soulede himself and the realme to the Englishe, submittinge themselwes, not onlie they beinge her subiectes, to the iudgment of Elizabeth and her counsell, but also by the same meanes wold aknoweledge her for

ther superiour, and make her, beinge an heire of a kingdome, and as frie as her selff, become her waffall, if it should lie in ther power, and to stand to her pleasure and courtesie to do with her what shee thought goode; therefore shee sent her agentes to request Elizabeth, that it might stand with her goode likinge to heare her in person, and shee wold be willinge and readie, all whosoever wold accuse her, and wolde cleare and iustifie her selff in all what should be obiected before her and her councell. But yeet shee protested shee wold not ewer acknowledge them for her lafull judges, or her true and faithfull subiectes, beinge a Princes and an heire of a kingdome as frie, and ewer so reputed, as that realme of England, and that Elizabeth, beinge but her equall, could not be her judge, or her subiectes. But if it pleased her, with other christian Princes, to take knoweledge of the mater, shee wold most willinglie submitte her selff to ther iudgment, not refusinge her for anie thinge that had passed heiretofore betuine them, but from the beginninge had determined newer to heare her in person.

Yeet, notwithstanding, shee commaunded her Commiſſioners, (after Elizabethes deniall of her iuste petitions,) to poste to Yorke, the place appointed for the meetinge, where Elizabethes wer come before, weelee instructed and informed againe the poore distressed Ladie, and furnished with all the malicious reportes that could be dewised to make her odious; and to this effect her ennemies made a longe naration of all that was done in Scotland, and in speciall of the ordinances made ther in Parliament for the gowernement of the realme, not accusinge the Queene of anie faulte, but protestinge them selwes her maiesties most affectionat and humble serwantes, with all desiringe by waie of supplicatioun to the Queene of England, to do them iustice towards her, and to ratifie and approwe that which they had concluded and determined in the assemblie of ther estates.

When they had beene weelee at large harde of Elizabethes Commis-

fioneris, as was promesed them, Mr John Leslie bishop of Roffe, the Lord Boyd, the Lord Harrife, Mr Gawin Hamilton abbott of Kilvinge, her Maiesties Commiffioneris and agentes, perceiwinge that the articles did cowertlie and vnderhand deprawe the honour of ther fower-aigne, albeit they did protest themfelwes her Maiesties most humble and affectionat ferwantes, yeet secretlie and priwelie ther projectes and ther consciences wer farre otherwise, and that they had possessed Elizabethes Commiffioners with a werie harde opinion of her behawiours and cariage towards her husband, as they duellie certified and aduertised, they did fullie resolue not to make a simple answere to that which was proposed, but thought it most expedient fullie and whollie to refute all ther impudent accusatiounes, and whatfower ellis they might urge for the disadvantage of ther mistres.

They made therfore declaratioun to Elizabethes Commiffioneres, ¶ The deputie Commissioners of Marie Queene of Scottes made this apologie at Yorke in the defence of ther mistres, in the hearinge of Elizabeth Queene of Englandes Commissioners. in the hearinge of the rebelles, that they could not aknowledge Elizabeth nor them for iuste and lafull iudges of the cause, nor ther aduersaries lafull accusars, to be harde to accuse ther Soweraigne, to whom, by the lawe of God and nature, they wer to be subiect, and not to Elizabeth of England: Yeet they beinge werie desirous that the innocencie of ther Mistres might appeare to all the world, and to take from them that euill opinion which was in ther mindes by the finifter information of her ennemies, they desired that they might adwise and confider the fundation of the ordinances of the Estates of Scotland by them alledged; and saide, that all ther accusatiounes consisted vpon no thinge but vpon presumptions, the greater parte wheroff wer so frewolous and so light, that they deserwed not in such a companie to be either alledged, propounded or giuen eare vnto or harde; for ther could not be founde out one witnes that sawe her Maiestie present at the death of her husband, nor that ewer hard her commaund such a willanous acte. The accusars them selwes do not saie it, but onlie that shee consented to it,

to the end that shee might marie Boithwell, foundinge themselves vpon I knowe not what coniectures, which be not buildinges to owerthrowe the honour or liffe, I saie not of a Queene, exempted from lawe, and that hath no superiour, but of anie person of the basest estate in all the world ; for in such case the comoune lawe saith, that the prooffe should be more cleare than the noone sunne sheyninge in the middle of the daie. But let us see them, I praie you :

1. The first is founded vpon the presumption of the enwie which they saide shee had against her husband for the inhumane murder of the Se-

67 Fie for shame, they them selues, the accusars, wer actouris boith in the murder and mariage, as Morton, one of the principall of the Queenes accusars, confessed before he suffered for beinge acte and parte in the saide murder. Queene Elizabeth and thy deputie commissioners, while do yee not blushe for your shames impudencie ! Yea, the shameles traitour Murraie told the Lord Harrioe of the Kinges murder before it was executed.

cretarie. 2. The seconde vpon the contempt of her faith of wedloke, giwinge part to Boithwell in her goode sawours. 3. The thirde vpon letters written with her hand, and other papers of instructiouns founde in a litle filwer coffer. 4. The fourth vpon the litle account shee made of him after his death, disdaininge to mourne, or caufflinge him to be buried as was fitte. 5. The fifth vpon the mariage she contracted with Boithwell, the murderer of her husbände ; and for that they used the confessiounes made vpon the torture of the serwantes of Boithwell, and others, who wer minifters in the execution of this horrible murder.

Albeit, then, all these presumptiounes maie wee be refuted with a simple deniall, which proceedinge from the mouth of such a princes, ought to be of more efficacie and force to cleare her innocencie then ten thousand such men her accusars alledge to the contrarie ; yeet to content your mindes, and to deliuer vnto you the evident truth, without approwinge her authoritie that had made you her deputie Commiffioners, or aknoweledging you for iudges, we saie all the accusatiouns of our mistres be in the selfe false, and founded vpon the malicious speeches of her ennemies : for touching the first, true it is, shee had most iuste occasion to be angrie with her husband, who had conspired with her ennemies who killed her innocent secretarie, an olde, feble, wake, and impotent harmeleffe man, her most faithfull serwant and counsel-



lour to her goode and honour when he implored God for mercie and iustice, they wold not bringe to hawe triale in iustice, whether he had deserwed death or not. When he did flie to her Maiesties cheir where shee satte to be his mediatour, to hawe succour and triale by iustice and right of lawe, and her Maiestie did interceede for him at ther handes, they spitefullie stabbed the poore man with thrie scoire and abowe mortall woundes, and that ower her Maiesties shoulder, and harde by her, to the greate hazarde and danger of her liffe, shee beinge then greate with childe of a foweraigne Prince. Shoulde anie such cruell willaines be harde nowe to accuse ther ladie and mistres, who them selwes hawe beene actoures in boith the murders? Was not her Maiestie perfitlie reconciled to her husband in sincearitie of heart, in lowe and amitie, and so did continewe with him so longe as they liwed together?

This poore Prince, after this inhuman act was comitted by the instigation and direction of these that nowe heire accuse her, seeinge that [they] had intention to murder his wiff, founde the meanes, when they had planted them selwes in greate number about her, to come vnto her companie to ioine him selff vnto her for her saiftie, and after he had falen doune vpon his knees and craived pardon of her with greate plentie of teares, shee lerned weele the faulte wher it was hatched, and hard the beginninge, and that came not of him selff: Yeet, seeinge that he was a younge man, werie deliberate, stout of curage and handes, and that he wold willinglie hawe rewenged this cruell willanie vpon the first authoures of it, he had the facte in such horroure after the designe of them was discowered which councelled him vnto it, her Maiestie was forced and compelled to shewe agoode countenance, and held his bridle shorte from the beginninge, to hinder the stronge passiouns of his magnanimous spirite and curage, so desirous of rewenge against Murraie and Morton, and those which putt this execrable acte in his heade, to make him enter in a irreconcilable discorde and variance with his

wiffe. Had they no other meanes to kille him ellefwhere but in the prefence of her Maieftie, when he caught holde on her Maiefties gounes, crying for iuftice and mercie, when ſhee requested them to ſpare him, if not for her owen ſake, yeet at leaſt for the childes cauſe [which] was betuine her fides, which perhappes [would] one daie call them all to account for ſuch a cruell fact? What, did he neuer go out of her prefence? did he neuer go abroad into the citie, where they might haue awenged them ſelues vpon him if he had offended them? or when he went abroad out of the palace, had he ſuch greate attendance and retinewe of followers, that they durſt not looke vpon him? They might haue dailie founde him walkinge the ſtreates of Edinburgh and Cannogate, where the meanest of ther followers might haue awenged them ſelues on him? Why then did they dewiſe, counsell, and perſuade the huſband to execute the cruell fafte in the prefence of the wiffe, greate with childe, and readie to lie doune? They knewe weeles whie in ther conſciences, and ſome of them that wer then ther partners haue ſince confeſſed, that ther intention was ſo to affright this moſt forrowefull Princes, that ſhee and her iſſue ſhould preſentlie die, and after to putt all the blame vpon her huſband, and ridde him alſo out of the world.

This brought about, ther had beene no impediment to Murraie to be kinge. The Queene was not ſo woide of iudgement, that ſhee did not diſcower and marke all this weeles, and note it weeles a litle after, which cauſſed her not to diminifhe no thinge the amitie and accuſtomed affection towardes her huſband, which for his youth and wante of experience, ſhould haue, but could not preuent ſuch an ambuſhe: wheroff ſhee gawe werie greate and certan teſtimonie at Glaſcowe when he was ther ſicke, for hawinge intelligence theroff ſhee poſted ſpeedelie thither, and cheriſhed and entertained him moſt lowinglie, and from thence bringinge him to Edinburgh to chaunge the aire ſhee viſited him dailie, and aſſiſted him almoſt till the werie houre of his death. You will ſaie,

this amitie and lowe was counterfeited : we denie it. Who ought to be beliwed ? Marcus Æmilius Scaurus hawinge been accused to hawe betraied the comoune wealth of Rome, takinge Mithridate fee filwer, albeit he was a corrupt man and knowen for fuch, yeet for the respect he had in the Senate, and for the inequalitie of him and Varus Suronensis his accuser, he was sent cleare awaie vpon his simple deniall of the facts. And her subiectes the traiterous rebellis, ewer knowen for fuch, saie the chearinges, which ther mistres made to her husband a litle before his death, wer but bates and fopes to bringe him to his end. Shee denieth it, and sweareth the contrarie : Is ther woorde better to be beliwed, or more worthie of credite than hers ? Such periured flaiwes, who newer had anie thinge in the world but by her, should not be harde before ther foweraigne lady and mistres ; as now they be listned weele vnto, and whatsoeuer they speake in malice is reputed truth. O notable iudges and partiall iudgement ! if shee had beene desirous to ridde him awaie, and to be deliwered of him, what neede had shee to hawe recourse to fuch a wiolence which could not be concealed ? One blowe with a sworde or dager had beene sooner giwen, and with lesse flaunder, reproach and wiolence. Shee might hawe put him to death by iustice, hawinge the lawes at her deuotion, and her subiectes her owen and readie to do it, without longe proceedinge, and the prowre cleare. The Queene her selff hawinge seene him, he being assistant at the murder of her most faithfull serwant, and his owen dager beinge founde in his bellie, for albeit he was her husband, yeet was he not Kinge, but her waffall and subiect, and vnder the authoritie of the lawes as other men : but shee feared, saie you, the scandale, and wold hawe been argued of too greate crueltie, if shee had publictly put him to deathe by the hand of an executioner : but you, that reprove the Queene of an act [of] crueltie, if shee had done an act of iustice, prosecute her to make her die vniustly by a

strange executioner, if one wold beliue you. If shee feared publick scandall and reportes of men, if shee had conceiued so damnable a designe, as you accuse her off, had shee not the witt to haue poisoned him? was shee so impudent and woide of conceate, that shee could no waie haue founde meanes to dispatch him by some secrete and priwie meanes, to hide it from the world? You haue beene so shamelesse and impudent, that you haue made it be published, by the woice of your ministers and ther artificiall libellis, that the sicknes he was in at Glascoue came of no thinge but poison that was giuen of and in behalfe of his wiffe, and that the wheales, blaines and culloured boiles that brake foorth and rose vp vpon all his bodie wer sure tokens theroff: if that be true, howe was he healed of the sicknes without any remedie against it? They that gaiue him that poison had no desire to kille him, since they gaiue it him either so feble and wertules, or insuch a smalle quantitie, that he escaped of him selff, without anie helpe of the physitiouns. You abuse your selff werie much, if you thinke her Maiestie be so grosse witted, and so roode in conceate, that if shee wold practise such dewises to kill her husband, shee could not brue him such a potion, in qualitie and quantitie, as the case should require. What argument haue you that shee did so? Wheales and boiles do breade in mannes bodie, not onlie by poison, but by manie other accidentes also, to which they be naturallie subiect, and principallie these of his age. If you haue then no other token of this facte, confesse your friuolous calumnies, and your too manifest false accusatiouns no lesse impudent, then that which is likewise shameleslie divulged by your dewilish libelles, accusinge her that shee wold likewise haue poisoned her sonne in the castle of Sterling, which thinge was shamleslie inwented and practized by the dewilish whore and witch, the ladie Marre, who made a litle pultes or gruell as shee wold haue giuen the younge infant the same, and then gaiue it her litle dogge, which incontinentlie burste at the middo side and died. Fie, be you eshamed of

your lies! Who will beliue your impudencie? Wolde fuch a lowinge mother hawe ewer attempted fuch a thinge, in a greate frequencie of wemen about the childe? No, it is incredible; neither nature nor the feare of God, besides the lowe shee bare to him, he beinge her onlie begotten sonne, could suffer her to thinke vpon fo willenous an acte, lett be to do it. Fie, blush for shame, and repent your calumnies, or ellis expect no thinge ellis but to be sent to the deuil for ewer, who is that old accuser of the bretheren, and your maister whose will yee do. All your calumnies be of the like sorte, without anie apparence of truth, onworthie to be uttered, or thought of by a Christian; they be all against the presumptiouns of reason and nature, impugninge the wertue, knoweledge, vnderstandinge and grace of fuch a honest meaninge ladie.

Touchinge the rest, shee is a prince most meeke, towarde, gentle, gracious, bounteous and pitiefull, as all that ewer knewe can testifie, that fewe ewer coulde matche her. But allace, this hath beene the beginnings of all her misfortunes, that shee hath made them insolent who now accuse her, throwe her too greate lenitie, whom shee should hawe rather made feeble the smarte of the sworde, for ther manifolde treacheries against her committed: if shee had chased them forth of her dominions, and not pardoned them so often, or rather cutte of ther heades, as they weeke deserued, they had not stude heir with impudent faces accusinge ther soweraigne. Shee so often receiued them to her fauour, that they made no account ewerie daie more and more to offend her, and to deale treacherouslie against her; insteade therof, if shee had cutt them of by iustice, shee should not, at this daie, hawe stoode in neede to hawe staied at the heaste shee doeth, to hawe her recourse to the mercie of an other for her deliwerie out of ther bloodie and merciles handes. Morton was the principall actour in the butcherie of her secretarie, and his maister Murraie the instigatour of his death, and yeet boith had pardon of her Maiestie, takinge remission for this ther treacherie.

I neede not repeate manie mo ther traiterous delignes pardouned them, for they wer notorious in the eies of all the whole kingedome, for whate moneth, what weeke, or what daie wer thè idle or frie from plottinge, and imaginige either one treason or other against ther prince, state or commonewelth? All these thinges shee tooke no notice of, and yeet nowe, howe barbaroullie, like sawage cruell wilde beastes, do they nowe thirste to be faciat with her bloode, without all feare of God, imposinge vpon her that crime wheroff they them selwes wer the first dewifers, fordward fetters and putters to execution. Wer they more deare to her then was her husband? Was her husband more faultie then they? Could shee keepe her stomoke, in regarde of him, that suffered him selff to be deceiwd, and to imparte her fawours to those who deceiwd him? Before this facte you can not denie but that shee lowed him onlie intierlie. Is it probable, that for this facte allone, shee did dewide her selff so much from him, that since shee could not finde in her hearte to receiue him againe into her fawour, albeit shee was weeke reconciled with you the authoris of the murder, and which wer no thinge to her in estimatioun in regarde of her husband?

The comike poet saieth, the falling out of lowers is the renewinge of lowe. That which shee had showed by infallible argumentis and necessarie, hawinge, by open proclamatioun and edict, prohibited all persons from speakinge euill of her husband, nor to putt him in the ranke of them that acted this vnfortunat murder, so wicked, so abominable and cruell: shee forder graunted him letters of pardon to iustifie him selff against all his mortall ennemies, in cace they should imput so a wild an act vnto him after the death of her Maiestie. Can you shoue a more perfect demonstration of synceare lowe and amitie?

The satyricall poet sayeth, no thinge is more desirous of rewenge then a woman. She should therefore hawe awenged her selff vpon Murraie and Morton and ther complices, who wer much more faultie then her

husband. This sexe, albeit vindicative, yeet it abhorreth crueltie. And as touching the accused, shee hath ewer showed her self pitifull and inclinable to mercie, yea, ewen against her capitall ennemies, and namelie against her accusers, as you maie iudge by ther often ordinarie flightes much reiterated, (not beinge able to aunswere for ther heinous treasons,) into England. There is no probabilitie, that in one moment, shee is of a meeke Queene become a tyranne. At the beginnunge, when shee seemed much offended for the murder of her secretarie, the more parte of the nobilitie propofed to her the diworce and separatioun from her husband, which shee iustlie might have done, if shee did so much stomoke and malice him as the rebelles alledge nowe. And you, Morton, received into favour, restored to your honour and goodes, made often overtures theroff vnto her, and namelie to make it passe throwe if shee wold, denie if you can or darre. I am heire to iustifie it, and shall stande one daie in the presence of the Almightye to accuse you : speake man, if yee have a face, or senses bound conscience : fie for shame, you are guiltie of that I charge you with. Denie, denie not, least you fall into the condemnation of the deuil. When you often propounded vnto her Maiestie, did shee not ewer aunswere you, that her husbände was but younge and litle experienced for want of yeares, and that it was a esie thinge to bringe him to wertue, and that he was of his owen nature a goode man and weeke enclined, and that the corruption he had came of euil counsell of those that wer neither freindes to him nor to her Maiestie. You see then the synceire lowe of this ladie to her deare husband, and by consequence the presumption of all euil will destroyed, which is the foundation, (but groundles,) vpon which her accusars have builde all ther odious accusatiounes, odious, I saie, in the sight of God and man, shee being the mistres and soweraigne, and the thinge they laie to her charge false in the self.

Touchinge the seconde and thirde article of her accusation, touch-

inge contempt and faith of mariage, which they think to werifie by letters misliue, which they saie shee had written to the Erl Boithwell, that is a most wile, impudent and bloodie reproch, and meerelie by them fallie and maliciouſlie dewised to giue shoue and cullour to ther designed conclusion they propose, to drawe therof that which they pretended, namelie the murder, for it is to be presumed that an adulterous woman maketh no more conscience to prostitute her owen bodie to ther indiscrete and vnbridled concupiscence, then shee doeth to be acquainted with the purpose of the murder and plottes tending therto, and the execution theroff by the murderers. To this end they alledge some particular actions, so weeie painted and disguised, so weeie vpholden, so weeie described and signed boith by the names and surnames of persons, the circumstances of time and place, of thinges, of ther endes and ewentes, that the most wile and best adwised maie heirin be deceiued and abused, and we aunswere heiruntill by denyinge all: for her Maiestie calleth God and his holie angelis to witnes, that all these thinges ar onlie false and inwented at ther pleasure, wheroff her accusars cannot werifie one point; for touching the letters by them brought and produced, intendinge to make this ther suirest and onlie proowe to all ther accusatiouns, her Maiestie swear-eth and protesteth solemnlie in the faith of christian Princes, and by the redemption of her soule, that shee neuer wrete them, and that they hawe beene suborned and dewised by her ennemies, and extorted from some one that could counterfeit her hand. This not the first time that they hawe used this meanes. Murraie, heire present, knoweth weeie what to saie, if he wold confesse the truth, which is neuertheles so weeie knowen, and hath beene so weeie awerred, that he can not denie it; for when the Lord Gordoun, eldest sonne and heire to the Earl of Huntlie, was prisoner at Dumbarre, Murraie dispatched in all haiste a man of his owen to Craigmillar, capitan of the saide castle, with letters counterfeiting her Maiesties hand wretinge, by the which he com-



maunded him, that vpon the receipt of these letters, incontinentlie without all delaie he should strike of the saide Lordes heade. But the capitan, being a milde, courteous and gracious man, not inclined to crueltie at all, piteinge the younge Lordes estate, did shewe him the letters, and tooke adwise to deferre the execution, till that he vnderstoode forder her Maiesties goode pleasour by her selff from her owen mouth, and for this purpose he posted to the Courte, then distant twentie Scottish miles from that place; he reported to her Maiestie howe the younge Lord saide to him he should hawe no harme, in confidence of the which promese he did relie him selff vpon her Maiesties mercie.

The capitan tolde her he was stricken amazed and astonished at such a commandement, he beinge in preface when her Maiestie thus promised him his saiwetie: he spared no trawell, but came by post in all haiste to her Maiestie, and came to her palace when shee was nowe in bed at rest, the gates beinge shutte; he importuned her Maiesties garde, who refused to lett him enter the palace, till some of the bed chamber hearinge a greate sturre and noyse tooke notice theroff, and by commaundement from her Maiestie bidde them lett the partie come to her preface whosoever it wer, who, when he had presented himselff to her vpon his knees, tolde her howe he had put in execution the contentes of her letters, namelie that he had put to death her Maiesties younge cufinge, the younge Lord Gordoun, sonne and heire to the Earle of Huntlie. At the reporte wheroff, shee beganne to take her selff by the haire, cursinge, abhorringe and detestinge the first authouris and causers theroff. Then the capitan much comforted, thanked God, that he had not obeyed the counterfeete letters, which he shewed her, and the first sighte shee thought shee had sett her hand to wrete them all and subscribed her name, albeit confideringe them and the contentes shee weeie and perfitlie remembered after shee newer thought vpon such a thinge all her liffe, nor yeet did ewer anie mowe her in anie such

things, and althought they had, shee wold nauer consented to such a thinge, besides all ordour of lawe.

But in the end, Murraie was founde to be the wreter and sencer of the cruell misliue and mandate, that this magnanimous younge Lord might be dispatched out of his waie, who, beinge a man of manie freindes, and of greate might, perhappes might hinder his hie attemptes in asperinge to the crowne, and speedelie rewenge his fathers death by him, vnder the borrowed name of the Queene, most treacherouslie slaine and murdered after the batle, and after he had yielded him self to be brought and conducted to her Maiestie, to purge him self of that wheroff he was accused by his mortall ennemies, and to declare to her his innocencie. And to the end, my Lordes, you maie thinke this to be spoken in ieste and borrowed for goode paiement, marke and beholde the letters: and sayinge this, he deliuered the letters in ther handes, and some such other like stufte counterfeeted by Murraie and his complices, wheroff they wer eshamed and blushed, not knowinge or yett beinge able to replie.

It is weeke knowen, that the letters of Marie Betun, one of her Maiesties ladies of honour, resembled so nearelie those of her mistres, that it is not possible to descerne the one hand wretinge from the other: yee hawe also at this daie by your juglinge, where you learned it I knowe, except that God be mercifull and put remedie to it, wilbe the owerthrowe of manie in ther liues and states, nowe brought in the realme a most dewilish and lewde practise, that manie hawe learned of you to counterfeete mennes handes so cunninglie, wheroff you knowe some that can so naturallie and cunninglie imitate the hand wretinge of an other, that you wold mistake your owen hand writinge, and approue and allowe that for yours which hath beene falsified by them, and you neuer did see with your eyes before. We saie then, that the Queene neuer wrete those letters, and albeit shee had wrettin them, they could

make no prooffe againft her, nor be receiued in iudgment; for they be (*sine die et consule*) as the prowerbe is, we knowe not what time they wer written, nor by whom, nor where, neither superfcibed nor endorfed with the name or perfon of anie perfon, nor figned, nor fealed, nor the wretinge known or challenged of anie, and yeet will you hawe her Maieftie condemned of fo greate and heinous a crime? Of this will you bringe a neceffarie argument not onlie of her vnchafitie, but alfo of the hatred, mortall enmitie and crueltie wherwith thee fhould hawe profecuted her lowinge husband; ther is no fuch proceedinge againft the moft abieft of her fubiectes; ther is not kept from them the prefcript forme of the lawes; the order of iuftice is not keepte backe; they be not speedelie caft as guiltie without dewe prowte, concludinge forcible for iudgment lawfull. You will faie, thefe letters wer directed to Boithwell: we denie it; how will you be able to prowte the contrarie? You will faie, they wer founde within a litle coffer of filuer perteninge to the Queene: we faie, that if it be fo, you your felwes hawe put them there; for Mr James Balfoure, capitan of the caftle of Edinburgh, hawinge ftollen awaie her Maiefties jewelles that was in it perteninge to her Maieftie, was corrupte by you for rewarde, and yeelded him felfe to your fide and betraied his miftres, deliwer her ftrongeft hold of the heade borrowe and citie of the kingdome in your handes, he not hawinge anie warrant from her Maieftie fo to do: He was a fcholar of Machewell, weele practifed in manie thinges, not altogether ignorant of the Latine and French tongues: neither will wee faie and ftande to it, that it was he that forged thefe letters, but onlie that he is a man, readie and wittie enough to do fuch a thinge, if he ones did purpofe fo in his minde. Suppofe it be, or anie other that wrete them and put them in the faide coffer, it is all one to us, fince it was in your power to put therein whatfoewer you pleased. We onlie denie it, that it was her Maieftie, or anie perfon to her knowledge, or

anie that can awouch it of her. Whome will you make to beliue it, that fuch a prudent and a wife Princes could fo much forgett her felff as to wrete fuch letters, to ferue for a memoriall and infallible argument of her turpitude? Is it poffible that fhee hath been fo carles of her goode name and renoune, or that fhee had fo litle regarde of her felff, that fhee fent fuch letters to Boithwell, all open to bee wiewed and feene of all to whose handes they might come? But to come to the purpofe, who was the bearar of them? the man which you fee in the moone! Was Boithwell fo farre from the courte, that it was needfull to wrete fuch fcrete maters to him by open letters, and no waies disguised nor concealed? Was Boithwell fo blokifhe and colde in lowe? Saie, it was needfull for a Queene, and fhee the moft beutifull in the world, to drawe and winne him by verfes, and charme him by poefie.

But what is the fubieft of thefe letters? Ther is not anie mention of murderinge, killinge, or vſinge anie forte of crueltie. What is then the fubieft of them? Foolifhe lowe. Boithwell was a man much giuen to fuch thinges, ewerie one knoweth it, and that ther was no neede to drawe him to it by fuch dewifes. He departed not from the courte, and it had been a waine and ſuperfluous thinge to him, which hath his refidence ther, that it might hawe been communicated to him by mouth, to hawe the mater writen to him in vnclofed letters, wherthrowe it might hawe beene published and blaſed abroad, to ferue to all pofterities for a perpetuall note of her infamie and follie.

And to what end had he kepte them in this coffer, ſince by her it is expreflie commanded to burne them? did he not knowe that this coffer paſſed throwe manie peoples handes? did he not knowe that theſe letters might hawe cauſed him die the death, if they had fallen into the Queenes handes, he not hawinge done againe her exprefſe commaunde, which was to burne them? Be it that they fell into the handes of his ennemies: they wold deſire no better ſubieft to moleſt and annoie him;

he wanted no thinge what he foirfawe: Did he not the inconveniences beinge espied, foirfee the danger he might fall into? If the keepinge then of fuch letters wer to him moft dangerous, and could profite him no thinge, nor bringe him no contentment, it is not to be prefumed that he put them in the coffer; and albeit he had putt them ther, fo yeet it is, that they wer not thither fent him in the behalfe of the Queene, but by fome other ladie of more auncient acquaintance.

Let us proceede to the readinge of them; werie shame and modestie hindereth me to paffe anie further to aunfwere the deedes builded vpon thefe coniectures drawn from the letters; the fallettis and filth of them beinge more ftronge then thofe of Meffalin, or Marcus Aurelius wiffe. But fuch coniectures ar fo colde, that I am amazed howe the inventer of them durfte digrefle from reason, confideringe the reputation of his knoweledge, which thofe of his feēt hawe publifhed throughout all Europe, giwinge him the title of the prince of all the poetes of our age. If this woorde poefie be taken for a fable, and poet for a deviſer of lies and fables of things that newer wer indeed, hawinge dwelte all his liſſe amongeſt the ſtewes and brothelhouſes, amongeſt filthie vnchaff perfouns, litle knewe he the honourable cariage of perfons of eſtate, in the courtes of Princes, and that made him wrete fuch lies, and ſo we graunt he maie wee be called a ſhameleſſe poet, yea the moſt ſhamleſſe in that facultie in our age, or that hath beene in anie age before us. Paris in Fraunce can wee witnes the honeſt cariage of this man, and his goode experience he had in fuch baudie maters, as he hath publifhed abroad in the world, and now is not eſhamed to repeate, with a braſen face, defilinge the aire and offendinge your chaſte eares. As for my ſelf, I can neither heare with patience fuch filth, nor ſpeake of it openlie, leaſt I ſhould be ſaide to paffe the boundes of modestie and honeſtie. But he couched vp his baudie coniectoures and filthie ſuſpicions vnder fuch ynhoneſt tearmes and ſpeech, that Sardanapalus him ſelf, nor Epicurus,

Buchanan.

maie seeme not to haue beene so weele acquainted and practised in Venus games, as this filthie epicure is. Let his Leonoras and Elifacs, and the rest of this mans filthie companions witnes this. Fie vpon the filthie bande, was thou not eshamed to range and drauke thy renowned soweraigne mistres amongst thy Elifacs and Leonoraes? If thou haddest knowen wherupon to founde the prowes of the alledged faultes, which thou, shamelesse willaine, charges thy Prince with, thoue woldest not haue recourse to thy filthie lowes, to drawe theroff presumptions no waies fitting the purpose; thou woldest not openlie before the world belie the honour, wertue, chastitie and honestie of so greate a Princes, weele known in Fraunce of all the greate estates ther, and which had neuer beene euill thought of in Scotland, but by the and thy complices here present, disloiale traitours, and more then capitall spitefull ennemies of your mistres.

Touchinge the fourte article of ther accusatioun, the urge her with the litle and small account that shee made of her husband after his death, asweele in regarde of the sorrowe, as in respect of his buriall. O, howe easie a thinge it is to finde faulte with those who excell in manie thinges, be it vertue, honour, or riches; in ther greatest fortune is there least libertie, saith Salustius, for they can do no thinge so dexteroullie, that ther ennemies do not finde meanes to gaine saie by sinifter interpretatioun. The corpes of this Prince, after her Maiestie had beheld it with the sorrowfullest hearte that could be, and shedding teares plentifulle with great commiseratioun, was by her commandement enbaulted and wrapte vp in searecloth, and then enterred by my Lord Justice Clarke, the Larde of Traquhare and these of the nobilitie, who wer then at courte, amongst the sepultures of the Kinges her owen auncestours, and where Kinge James 5 her Maiesties father had beene buried. Coule shee burie him in a more honourable place? If the ceremonies of the funerall wer not such as it was meete, wherunto should one impute the

faulte? Her Maiesties desire had no place, who greatlie desired that such ceremonies should haue beene used, as wer accustomed to be done at the enterringe of the Kinges her predeceffouris, but ther was not anie person to performe her will. As for the counsell they wer secretlie of the rebelles factioun. As touchinge her sorrowe, did shee not keepe her closet? was shee not longe enough without seeinge daie? what assurance had shee of her liif, if shee had continowed still in one place so longe as shee desired, if shee had not betime chaunged her ludginge to prewent your commotions and treacheries against her, who also before had killed her husband? Shee knewe weele that you had killed her husband, and that you wold not content yourselwes with that offence and facte, onles you compassed the remainder. Shee feared your designes not without goode cause, the effectes of your goode will, after followinge, gaue sufficient and certane prove, that shee of right ought to haue doubted you, and not to sojourne so longe in one place, but to remowe often without your knoweledge asmuch as she coulde. You mocked and iested amongest yourselwes at the keepinge of her closet, at her candle, at her blacke mourninge attire; nowe you blame her that shee tooke not longe enough time in performinge these deueties, which you helde in conscience to be superstitious, and you do inferre shee killed her husband. O strange conclusions! I praie you, wold anie of you be content, that anie of you should be saide to haue killed your wiues, if you hapned not to keepe all the accustomed ceremonies of murninge after ther deathe? or do your wiues murne thus for ther husbands, as shee did for hers? or haue your mothers doone the like for [ther] husbandes? You knowe weele they haue not: albeit shee had doone none of the thinges you do require, it is not a thinge so reprehensible and blamewoorthie or odious, as you wold make it; you can neuer name anie Queene in Scotland, that hath doone as you alledge. You ought not to measure this Queene by the factes of otheris, who wer no thinge ellis after the decease of ther

husbands but Douriers. Shee after the deathe of her husband was a soweraigne Queene ; shee helde no thinge of her husband, but on the contrarie, he had no thinge but what he helde of her. Nowe to conclude this article, if in her soule shee had iudged her selff culpable of his death, had shee not witt enough to disguise the faulte by exquisite and sumptuous funerallis, with outcrynges and lamentatiouns, and all other inwentiouns and singularities, which it had beene possible to devise, which is usuallie done of those who wold obscure and cower such a facte. This obiection doeth merite no answere, it is so friwolous.

Lett us come therefore to the fiste, which is the most pregnant and biting of all, which alone seemeth to hawe so greate weighte, that the presumption rising theroff should beare awaie the definitiue sentence of this controuerfie. For these woordes, shee had married the murderar of her husband, follie and simplie pronounced, giue such a deepe and violent impressiion, that the hearte of those who considereth it, beinge no otherwise informed in these affaires, and owerpasse maters that the lieve no scruple nor doubte, but that shee was consentinge to the murder : But when the deede shalbe with the circumstances discovered as it befell, her accusars, that impose vpon her this crime, darre not shewe ther faces before this companie, althought it wer of steile which can not blushe, so shamelesse, so assured and framed they ar in ther impudencie. If the first proposinge of this mariage had been intimated by her Maiestie, if it had beene made and accorded by her meere motion, and executed by her owen onlie will, without forcinge and vrginge of anie other, ther might hawe beene iuste occasion to suspect the worke ; but if they, who do this daie blame her, hawe beene themselwes the authoris theroff ; if they hawe forced her Maiesties will to giue her consent therunto ; if they, by forcible reasons, hawe induced her therunto ; if by threates and soure boastinge, they hawe forced her to do it, howe darre they ston her for a worke proceedinge from ther owen



cunninge? howe can they condemne the faulte of ther owen fundation? Methinkes I see the old men before me which accused Sufanna, and the wiff of Putiphor, that fallie accused Joseph of the crime wheroff he was innocent and shee culpable: Hawe you ewer such Scogganizine? He was most leude fellowe who, to cower his wickednes, did ordinarilie impose and returne and retorte them vpon those whom he had induced to do faultes; wherupon came the proverb, plaie you the Scoggin with me? which is asmuch as to saie, as if after you hawe beaten me, you complaine first your selff. The English vnderstand weele this worde. Hould, heire be the letters of Murraie goinge into Fraunce, reade, peruse and confider them; and you, Sirs, the accusars, knowe you your wretinges, marke the signes of your handes: and as he thus saide, he produced Murraies letters and some other of his complices, by which he councelled his mistres not onlie to take the Earle of Boithuell to her husband, but threatned her also with greate inconveniences, if shee refused him. Ther was also produced a proiect to this mariage signed by the accusars, and of the more parte of the nobilitie deliwered into Boithuelles handes, to shewe to her Maiestie ther resolution, and that shee must needes go that waie, if shee wold not endure that which was worse. And in shewing this contract, he continewd his speech, sayinge, you can not denie your subscriptions to these letters, you can not mistake your signes apposed to this contract: we desire also that you wold vnderstand, acknowledge and confesse the greate commendatiouns of Boithwell, which you songe dailie to her Maiestie, the affrighters and brages you made, if shee did not marie him. Shee had put him into your handes to the end to do iustice, you did declare him innocent of the crime, and hawe exempted him from punishment, that by iustice was due vnto him, giwinge ten thousand mockes and floutes for punishment to her maiestie to drawe her to this dishonour, and constrain her to accept of that partie so litle sortinge to her greatnes. Remember your selwes of your glorious othes,

with protestatiouns of perpetuall fidelitie, if it pleased her to accept of him, whom you would name to serwe her for a goode and loiale companion, to assit her in all her affairs, to comfort her in all her difficulties, and to defend her against the assaultes of her ennemies.

And nowe as touchinge you, unworthie man, deffemblinge and traitorous hypocrite Bishope of Orkneie, ar you not eshamed to shoue your selff in this companie? Was not you that made the mariage you nowe blame? was not you that ioined them together in face of holie Church? was it not you that gaiwe the nuptiall benediction? who ewer forced you to do it? whie do you not make declaratioun of this iniuste imposition? whie do you not thinke that you hawe committed treason to conceale your mistres, that he that was about to marie her was the deathe of her husbände? Should you hawe made the mariage, hawinge your conscience charged with this knowen sinne? The duetie of a Bishope and order which you hold in the church commandeth you to resist it and hinder it. Her Maiestie hath ewer beene an obedient child to the church, and wold not hawe beene so obstinat as to hawe withstoode the ordinances of the church, if you wold hawe used newer so litle authoritie, and hawe shouen her the faulte of the mariage: you should then hawe done that which this daie you doe: you had faiwed the honoure of your mistres, and the liff of manie a goode gentleman, which, by reason of your silence, be deade in the quarrell. Ther bloode is to be required at your handes, and one daie you ar to aunswere it. Blushe, blushe, if you hawe anie shame or conscience, blushe you sonnes of the father of lies, in accusinge the dead, wheroff you your selwes be the onlie authouris. The most constant woman in the world, hawinge past the extremitie of fortune, as this ladie hath done, and hawinge to do with men of your humour, beinge all sett on mischeiffe, durste not hawe taken other resolution, but that which by her hath beene taken maugrie her intention, minde and desire: and yee thees sweareth, and solemnlie protesteth, that thees wold

hawe rather died ten thousand deathes, if it had been poffible, then to hawe consented to this mariage, if ſhee had had the leaſt ſuſpition in all the world, that Boithwell had beene partaker in the treacherie of her husbandes death. But her rebelles which nowe accuſe her, hawe ewer perſuaded her the contrarie, till ſhee had deliwered vp her ſelff into ther handes at Carbarriehill, where and when they begann to chaunge ther toungues, and giue her firſt to underſtand ther willenie in accuſinge him, whom before they had ſo heighlie commended vnto her. It is weelee ſeene at this inſtant to what end theſe commendations wer giuen, the werie marke and deſigne of ſuch threatninge is weelee perceiued was not anie lowe they bare to Boithwell, but a bate to trape ther miſtres; it was not the goode of the realme, as they feined and made ſhewe of, but the ſcandale and honour of her Maieſtie to ſerue for the advancement of ther cauſe, and to open the waie to uſurpationn of the croune and ſtate, in ſpoilinge her, as you ſie, by force, to whome by right of nature it belongeth. The landes ſtand for her to be reſtored ſo farre foorth, that all action ſhould be denied them, that hawe vniuſtly and with publiſt force rebelled againſt her, and bereawed her her right.

But ther reſteth yett one pointe not to be paſſed ower in ſilence, which is the reportes and confeſſiouns made vpon the torture by two or thrie of Boithwelles ſerwantes, that wer condemned to death for participatinge in this cruell parricide. God knoweth what that torture of the bootes and racke will make a man, thorowe the paine theroff, to confeſſe and ſaie ewen of himſelff, let be of others. Alace, what courſe of lawe was it that her Maieſties mortall ennemies ſhould make the interrogatories, prompte ther aunſwers who wer tormented and prompte ther confeſſions, ſuch[as] they beſt pleaſed to hawe them make, and to cauſe wrete whatſoewer they pleaſed to dewiſe they ſaide to touch the honour of ther miſtres. In the proceſſe of this verball queſtion, you ſee not one worde of Morton, or of

his cufinge Mr Archebalde Douglas; and yeet they wer boith charged by thefe that wer tortured, the one, that he figned with his hand the confpiracie of this parricidé, for the which after he iustlie was executed; the other, that he was prefent at the cruell faéte in perfon. But thefe wer not they which they fought after: they wold hawe none but thè whom thè named in ewerie interrogatorie in urginge the crime vpon the tormented pacientes. What hawe they in the end faide to her prejudice, and in what hawe they charged her, lett us fee. I praie you confider and examine the articles of your verball proceffe, of the which you do make your fstandard and banner in all your calumnious libellis, and which you hawe allone for all your prove inferted in the confef-fion of John Hepbron in thefe woordes:—Let no man do euil at the perfuafion of the greate, thinking that they will fauwe them; for I thought the fame nighte the murder was doone, it came to ewerie mannes knoweledge, yeet that none durft be fo bold as to faie, it was euill doone, feinge the fubfcription of the handes of fo manie perfons, knowinge it to be the intention of the Queene.

See all that you can extorte from thefe poore miserable foules, by your owen informatioun againft your foweraigne ladie and miftres. See all that which you can builde with fo manie cruell blowes of your bittle and mallet, your felff beinge ther promoters, contentinge you in that one of them hath fpoken fomewhat to the difgrace of your Queene by your infligatioun. But I praie you, let [us] come to the neare triall of the mater: Howe knewe he it to be the Queenes intention and minde? hath he fpoken with her? or hath fhee ewer declared to him her intention? Shee wold newer hawe beene fo foolifh, if fhee had gone about anie fuch thinge, and you can not be bolde to afferme it for the open shame of the world: how did he knowe it then? by the report of Boithwell his maifter? That might weelee be, that Boithwell gaiwe him to underftand, that the intention of her Maieftie was fuch, to the

end he might the better compasse the attempt he went about. But most certane it is, that Boithwell hath ewer discharged her Maiestie of the crime, yea, in the werie point of death he did sweare and protest her innocencie, that he neuer hard her speake of the conspiracie, but that the accusers ther present wer the authouris, principall interposers and negotiatouris, that putt in his heade this vnhappie and abominable designe, and that hawe subscribed and sealed with ther handes it, before that ewer he thought vpon anie such thing.

I prairie you let me vnderstand, whether they had anie care to examine this John Hepbron anent the subscriptions mentioned in his confession, knowinge weelee that it was them selwes and ther companions of which he spoke, as in the like Tala, Daglishe and Paris, they did not care to make anie inquisition concerninge the manuall subscriptions alleged; all of them beinge in the executioners handes, and readie to suffer, discharged the Queene, reiecting all the cause of the crime, and the execution theroff vpon them which made shewe to reuenge it, yea, some of the French men that suffered for the fact wer so plaine, that before ther death they openlie, vpon the scaffolde, did namelie repete the names of all the nobilitie conspiratouris, that had subscribed vnto the murder and subsequnt mariage, beginninge with Murraie and Morton, charginge them to be the first authouris, and the principall causers of boith.

But this no newes nor strange thinge for them that hawe committed anie great treason, to go about with tooth and naile to make the same be punished in the persons of innocentes, as our accusers hawe done, findinge in ther consciences them selwes guiltie of the parricide, hawe made fixe or fewen innocenter persons then them selwes suffer death, that they may saie they hawe done iustice, and to be thought themselwes cleare of the facts. Allace, they might soone cause these poore creatouris, without supporte, without freindis, and without meanes, to saie what the

would have them, and than putt them to death for ther rewardes when they had doone, notwithstandinge they promised them favour if they would charge the Queene, and hence came that suggested deposition of the said Hepbron alledged. I praie you tell me, how hapned it that they did not attech Sir James Balfoure, whome they did weeke knowe to stand charged by the depositions of those damned persons whom they made to be executed? Because he would have discovered the pottle of roses: He knewe all the myserie, and had the handes of Murraie, Morton and ther complices, as he had since made it knowne some fewe yeares after to the Kinge and to his counsell, that wer at some oddes and dissention with the saide Morton. What peruite have they made against Mr Archebalde Douglass, that was the cheiff man at the murder of this distressed Prince? You see then, my Lordes, the appearance that ther is in the presumptiones vpon which they founde ther accusation. But if you please to consider the contrarie presumptions that serue for the discharge of her roiale Maiestie, you shall see the accusers so compassed in ther affairs, that they shall neuer be able to finde an outgate for themselves.

1. Touchinge the first, I would willingly aske you, whome will you ever make to belive, that shee would have yeelded her selfe so frielie, and without constrainte, into the handes of her ennemies at Carbarrie hill, if her conscience had condemned her of this cruell murder? 2. What profite could shee have by such her crueltie? As for her husband, was he not younge, beautifull, and more agreeable ewerie waie then Boithuel? If shee had beene so light and giuen to her pleasures, as her ennemies saie, the life of her husband would have serued her better for the effect of her desires then his death; for besides the enioyinge of his personne, so faire as was possible, younge, lustie, nimble, shee might have had Bothuellis companie at her pleasur, which for her had beene better as a freind then as a husband, and would have thought him selfe

most happie to hawe serwed such a ladie; and if shee had beene willinge, no man could hawe hindered it, shee hawinge witt enough to hawe awoided suspition, and to take her pleasure, and that without scandall. Seeinge then, they can alledge no other reason then this, by which they can argue and taxe her of so horrible a crime, they must rest them selves content with reason more peremptorie, which shee had to conferwe her self from it: 3. The mortall enimitie which Murraie and his adherentes did beare to this Prince ewer since his mariage, and the feare that the saide Murraie had to be killed by him before, for beinge discontent with him self, that he was so willanouslie abused by his counsell, and induced to murder the poore Secretarie by the accusatiouns and exquisite lies, he was resolwed and purposed to reweuge this death vpon Murraie, and vpon the rest of the actouris and instigatours of it. For the 4. the ambitious pride, insatiable desire of Murraie, which manifestlie appeareth by the substitution to the croune which he required, and adiudginge it to the name onlie of the Steuarde, and naming him self and his issue to hawe the first place, and by the hinderances he made dailie to stoppe the mariages of her Maiestie, and by the ambushes he prepared for her Maiesties self, and her husband and his father to kill him, by the causses of discorde and diworce sewed out by him, brieflie by the usurpation of the croune and the gowernement, which we see this daie in his handes. 5. The departinge and absentinge of Murraie, the daie before the murder was committed, from the courte, to exempt him self from suspition that he knewe anie thinge theroff, when, notwithstandinge, within a fewe daies after, the Lord Harrise, heir present, saide to your face openlie at your owen table, Murraie, amongest vther table talke saide to him, this nighte before the morninge the Lord Dornlie shall loose his life. And thus saide, he biddeth the Lord Harrise speake as he wold answer to God in this pointe, and held his peace, till the saide

Lorde had ended his speeche, beginninge thus: I N. Lord Har-  
 rife do charge you, N. Murraie, that within a few daies after the  
 Lord Dernelie was cruellie murdered, I plainlie and trulie burdened  
 you with the foireknowledge of the fame murder, becaufe, that before  
 your ridinge into Fiffe, with one of your moft truſtie ſerwantes the fame  
 daie wherein you departed from Edinburgh, ſaide to me, amongſt other  
 table talke then, This night, before the morninge, the Lord Dernelie  
 ſhall looſe his liffe. Denie this if you darre or can. Heir vpon my  
 honour, I am redie to defend with my bodie, liffe, lands and goods,  
 ſo longe as I hawe breth, againſt the falſe diſſembling traitours, and all  
 others of your faction whatſoewer. And thus ſaide the Lord held,  
 and the ſpeaker beganne againe, proceedinge thus: Nowe, my Lordes,  
 judge you indifferentlie, and to verifie my lordes ſpeeches againſt  
 Murraie, it is alledged, he reiterated the fame woordes to a freinde of  
 his the fame werie daie, when as they wer in the boate paſſinge the  
 ferrie touardes Fiffe. 6. The contract of mariage with Boithwell was  
 ſigned by theſe accuſars. And 7. The inſtrument of conſpiracie by  
 them ſubſcribed and ſealed with ther armes, containinge the promeſe  
 made to him that ſhoulde kill the Kinge, to defend and mantaine him  
 againſt all that ſhould perſue. To which accorde the deſcriptiouns of  
 John Hepborn, Dagliſh, Paris and others, made at the werie pointe of  
 ther deathes in a moſt frequent and affluence, when they rekned on  
 the names of the Lordes of the nobilitie who wer guiltie of the ſaide  
 murder; as alſo did the ſtrangers which wer executed; whom the  
 people hearinge, asked what the man ſaide of the nobilitie, Murraies  
 favorites, hearinge all his faction named aſweele as others, thruſte the  
 people abake from the ſcaffold that they ſhould heare no more, and, to  
 ſatiſſie the people, tolde them, that they asked my Lord Regentes grace  
 (which is Murraie) forgiwenes, for that they had reſiſted his authoritie,  
 and craiwed him pardon in the younge Kinges behalfe for the cruell



murder. Marke, marke weele, my Lordes, ponder, weie and confider. On the contrarie, ther was newer founde anie one witnes that could charge her Maieftie with anie faulte, nor yeet did anie of thefe who fuffered, burden her in ther depositions, they beinge scanned and pondered confcionable accordinge to the courfe of lawe, with the knoweledge of the murder.

Thefe prefumptions, which be much more forcible then thefe of the contrarie partie, weie them weele, adwife vpon them; and to them will adioine the abfolution of Boithwel, graunted by them, ther greate malice, who, in fteade of aduertifing her Maieftie that the faide Boithwell was the murderar of her hufband, praifed him ewerie daie, by meanes of which ther praifes, and incace her Maieftie did make anie leaft figne of milike of anie ther fpeeches, they threatned and affrighted her fo, that they conftained her to marie him, which was the butte they fhotte at, that they might hawe fome apparent reason to invade the eftate, and difpofeffe her of the croune. And albeit all other prefumptions and coniectours fhould ceafe, the instant proceffe they make againft her fheweth the greate intereft which they hawe, what ther intention is, and that it was not anie zeale of iuftice which leadeth them.

When I confider the maner of ther proceedinge, methinkes I fee  
                   the maifter of the Kinges palace, to profecute the murderars  
 of the Kinge                   his maifter, which murder him felff at the  
 perfuafion of               Your Englifh hiftories make the like report  
 of Vortiger, which I omit for brevitie, leauinge it to your readinge: you  
 understand the mater and purpofe our accufers hawe done the like, for  
 they newer had anie token of lowe to ther maifter while he liwed, but  
 then when they ufed his youth for to griewe, wex and torment his  
 wiffe; and when he did repent him felff of folie, and tolde her that  
 they had councelled him to committ all thefe griewances againft her,  
 they profecuted him with malice and hatred to his laft breth, and

maffacred him, and beinge deade, they plaie the goode willans, they runne after the theiwes, beinge the most theiwes them felwes; they purfue them that be leaft in faulte, not touchinge the cheiffe authouris, conductouris and executers of the cruell fact, for feare they fhould be forced, if the lawe had the due execution, to accompanie them to the gallowes, whom they hawe fend thither. Murraie hath feazed him felff of the eftate, as did the difloiale traitoure Vortiger: he hath made him felff Kinge, and Morton his liwetennant, and boith be the fworne mortall ennemies of ther miftres, and of her late husband; and yett ar they fo foolifhe as to thinke to make them felwes to appeare to be innocent, puttinge her in the ranke of them that they hawe made to die for executinge the treafons and willanies by them commanded and done.

They hawe weeke learned the deceate of Donewalde, fometime capitan of the cafile of Forres in Scotland, in the province of Murraie, who murdered his liege lord Duffus, and punifhed cruellie manie innocentes, cruellie murderinge them for the foule fafte which he him felff had done. But the Lord God in his mercie, who newer leaweth fuch cruell factes vnpunifhed, and the bloode of poore innocentes onrewenged, by a notable miracle made the authouris of the cruell murder manifef, and ufe beinge maide of extraordinarie woonder, cauffed ewerie man be werie carfull to feeke out the authouris of the cruell murder. The funne did not fhewe his lighte after this murder the fpace of fixe monethes ower Scotland, which made all the people to looke more ftrictlie in the mater, and fpeciallie the Lordes of the courte, who perceiwinge Gods angrie countenance towardes the whole land, by all meanes poffible lauboured to bringe the crueltie to light, and confultinge amongeft them felwes deliberatlie, beganne to fufpect the too too bufie-heade and the crueltie of this capitan, in punifhing manie fimple people as thoughte they had beene the doars of the crueltie, and by diligent enquirie in the ende founde the faide Donewald and his wiffe and

familiar freindes and ferwands, to be the onlie committers of the crueltie, whom all they punished accordinglie.

Of later time, Robert 3. of that name, Kinge of Scotland, putt his eldest sonne in the handes of the Duke of Albanie his vncke, to be brought vp and trained by him in all honourable vertue belonginge to such a Prince; but in steade theroff, this wiked man, makinge haifte and aspringe to the croune after the deathe of his decripite sicklie brother, keepte this younge gentle man, then Duke of Rothesaie, in stronge captiuitie at Falkland in preson, where he so pined him with famine, that after he had eaten whatsoewer came to his hand, at last he did eate also his owen fingers, and in the end died. The authour of this cruell parricide purged him selff to the Kinge of the cruell facte, and barbarouslie in his furie putt them to death for it that could do no thinge in it, and that had neuer seene nor knowen this younge Prince.

Beholde the men of whom our Machiavillians have learned to practise such treacherie! Beholde the men of whome they have learned to cullour their crimes, and to cloake them with the cullouris of equitie, iustice and conscience, and to impose vpon this innocent Princes; the crime wheroff they coulde not cleare nor excuse them selwes before anie competent indifferent iudge, to whom of right the knoweledge theroff should appertaine. And I assure my selff, my Lordes, albeit you be such as can not pretend anie iurisdiction in this cause, that they durst not yett appeare before you, wer it not for the fauours and backinge of some of the greatest men of the courte and counsell of England: and moireower we wold have you to knowe, we be not come heire to craiue iustice at your handes by reason of the iniuries and wronges doone to the Queene our mistres by her vnnaturall subiectes, God, who hath anointed her, hawinge giuen her the sworde of iustice in her owen handes, to chastise them accordinge to ther demerites, but to roote out of your heartes the finifter opinions which her ennemies

might impresse in your heartes and mindes, by false reportes and lies. That which shee at this present demaundeth of the Queene of England, her goode sister, is, that shee will assist her for the full restoringe of her to her estate accordinge to her former promeles and since her affliction : vpon the which shee held her selff assured, albeit shee might hawe verie readie help eliewhere. Shee relieth her selff cheiflie vpon her, and more then anie other her allies for the desire shee hath nowe to be obliged to her, giwinge this honour for her that shee is neare of bloode vnto her, that accordinge to the comoune order and course of nature, shee is to succeede to her, to her crowne and roiale dignitie, if it shall please God to call her before her decease.

When these speeches wer ended, the accusars brought for replie, the ordinances of the estates helde by them in Scotland, sayinge, ther was no neede of anie other prooffe to proceede in iudgment of condemnation against ther mistres, prayinge the Commiffioners to passe yeet forder and giue iudgment : To which they aunfwered, that it exceeded ther power, it beinge otherwise apointed by the Queene ther mistres ; they saide they wer onlie appointed to heare the mutuall complaintes and the reasons of the two pairties, and to relate to her Maiesties counsell which they had promised to do : giwinge in the meantime certane assignatioun to the one and the other, to appeare before ther mistres and her counsell at London ; whither they returned, reportinge faithfullie all the deductions and the allegatiouns before them : They forder declared, what they coulde perceiue the Queene of Scottes was innocent of all the crimes fallie on her, imposed by the accusars, her subiectes and disloiale traitouris, and that they them selwes wer the authoures of all the horrible factes they accused her off, and that the persuite they made was to exempt them selwes from the crime by them committed, thinkinge by this meanes to purge them selwes, and to cower ther violent tyrannie and damnable usurped authoritie in Scotland, which they had

inwaded, vnto the which the Queene should and ought to be restored: they exhorted and councelled Queene Elizabeth to ioine hand with her, for manie iuste and goode confideratiouns. According to this adwise, the greatest of her counsell, and namelie the auncient nobilitie of England, propofed thrie meanes to direct and order all that which was past, and to sett this ladie in her throne, makinge in the meane time Elizabeth sure of hers. 1. The first was that shee should giue assurance to Queene Elizabeth not to molest, or truble, or disquiet her in the succession fallen to her person by the title of the crowne of England. 2. The seconde, that shee should agrie with her rebellis and disobedient subiectes, and extend her clemencie towards them, giwinge them pardon and remission of all ther offences, in publishinge them frie and quite of them; accordinge as her goode sister the Queene of England, and her nobilitie and counsell founde it meete shee should do. 3. The thirde, that shee should consent to be mareed to some noble person of England, that might binde him selff for her to keepe all these promeses that shee made to the saide Queene and her subiectes, which might be the true meanes to keepe these two realmes in perpetuall amitie and freindsheipe in all times heirafter to come.

They forder added, that by ther adwise, that the Queene of Scottes, hawinge gott so goode reputatioun and name, by her generous and noble actes and greate wertue, that it wold not nor should not be taken from her darkned, depriued or obscured, no not by her ennemies, and hawinge so wiselie gowerned her selff befor, and so constantlie and patientlie suffered aduerfities, shee seemed to them woorthie to be aknowledged and receiued into her right of lafull heire apparent and second person to succede the Queene of England, and to raigne ower them as ther soweraigne when the time should come, beinge nearer by bloode and succession then anie other that could be presented.

These speeches no thinge pleased Queene Elizabeth, nor her greatest

favorites, which had an other hammer batinge in her heade, then the advancement, profite and quiet of the Queene of Scottes, whom they desired to hawe had a hundreth foote vnder the ground, and also her sonne for the greate hinderance he was to ther designes, which was not at that time knowen, as since it hath beene, to continowe the succession of the croune of England from bastarde to bastarde, which was the cause that not onlie the Lords, which put this opinion on foote, hawe beene after greatlie afflicted in ther persons and goodes by false crimes urged against them, of those of the faction of the dewilish Machiavillian traitour Leicester; but also, that the Queene of Scottes hath beene rigoroullie handled and committed to more cloffe warde, beinge putt in the handes of the Earle of Huntington, Leicesters brother in lawe, who also was in confederatioun with Murraie, as for the right which shee pretended to the croune of England, and the feare that they had the said ladie should be declared seconde person of the realme to succeede vnto Elizabeth. Huntington, as he was commanded of Leicester, who then bare him selfe as kinge, in regarde of the greate fawour he was in with Elizabeth, boith openlie and secretlie, offered this ladie his presoner, manie willanies onworthis to be endured of the basest woman in England, which, for shame of him selfe, and staininge of his honour, he should hawe not doone.

Nowe to returne to the Queenes rebelles, Murraie and his complices. The daie nowe come of the appointed assignatioun to the parties by Elizabethes Commissioneris to appeare before her; they came accordinglie, and shee perceiwinge the accusars troden vnder foote through diffidence of ther cause, makinge the other go aside, shee shewe them howe little diligence they had used at Yorke, to make ther mater goode, and if they did not better, shee should be constrained to send backe ther mistres into her kingdome, and that shee could not of her honour refuse nor denie her the succour and support shee demaunded her. But if on the contrarie, they wold take curage to prosecute her directlie before the coun-

cell of England, touchinge the murder of her husband, thee wold assure them of her aide and assistance, and of the issue of the proceffe accordinge to ther desire. The accusars, being animated by these promeses, saide they wold deliwer ther plea in wrete; which libell at ther desire Buchanan composed in Latine, and impudentlie, (without regard of God, honour of his prince and natie cuntrie,) he declamed it at London in presence of Elizabeth and her counsell, where he had manie a floote and moke of them for his paines, althought otherwise they did approwe his purpose, and the marke that he shotte at weele, which was the disgrace of his mistres, of whome he held his life, and all the meanes he had in the world.

Histor. Scot.  
L. 1. 18.

The occasion that made him so spitefull against her was, because her renouned father had banished him for certane pointes of Lutheranisme; wheroff since he had recanted, and it is weele knowen that this baudie fellowe, the filthiest of men, and dungehill, sinke and pudle of filthe, chaunged his religion and faith as he did places where he travelled: England, Scotland, Fraunce and Portugall, can weele witnes this to be true. The persons, with whome he was conversant in these places, and his life, hawe lefte ample testimonies theroff to the wiewe of the world. When he could rest no where, this mercifull ladie, at the entreatie of traitour Murraie, called him from banishment, gaiwe him meanes to liue honestlie about the courte, thee gaiwe him besides the keepinge of the priue seale to make his benefite by the fees theroff. Yeet all this notwithstandinge, this vnthankfull cruell willaine, for the olde hatred which he caried against her Maiesties deceased father, was ewer opposite vnto her, and to all these that touched her in bloode or lafull parentage, hateinge them spitefullie, turninge him selff, and whatsoeuer he could do by wrete, to her mortall enemies, who abroad without, and at home within the realme, enterprised against the life and honour of ther mistres, and in all had he his parte in time of peace and warre, followinge Murraie and his complices desperatie.

In the end, perceiwinge him selff to be afflicted with the goute, and his curage to be so much abated by the faultes of his youth, which wer theifrie and robbérie, and whoredome of all fortes, besides gnathonicall flatterie, dissimulatioun and cusenage, he betaketh him selff to his penn, and wreteth infamous libell, defacing the noble actes of all her Maiesties roiale auncestouris, and the nobilitie of the realme, takinge all regall power, authoritie and soweraigntie from them, and puttinge the same in the handes of ther subiectes, who holde all that they have notwithstandinge of them: and this did to this onlie purpose to take all soweraigntie from his mistres and her sonne, to inuest his maister Murraie with the roiale dignitie, wherof the states of the kingdome weeled aduised and mowed with reason most iuste and apparent, they hawe, in open parliament, condemned his two libelles defamatorie bitekinges to vit, his historie of Scotland, and *De Jure regni apud Scotos*, prohibitinge all persons vpon the paine of greates punishments, and forfeites of ther goodes, to reade them or hawe them in ther possession.

This monster of men, and disloiale traitour, abusinge the knoweledge that God gaiwe him, came with the rebelles to helpe forewarde ther cause before Queene Elizabeth, and in her presence declamed his defamatorie libell, defaming his mistres with manie abominable lies, partlie invented by him selff and partlie suggested him by his maister Murraie and his complices, which maie weeled be reduced to the fixe heades which we hawe before spoken of, all the while the impudent rascallie willane did declame; in her hearte Elizabeth did laugh and reioice to heare such stufte published in such an assemblie, in regarde of the hatred shee ewer bare her, because shee wold neuer resigne the right of succession in her handes. He after adioined to this libell another as full of lies, of the pretended mariage of his mistres with the duke of Norffolke, with the maner of his proceffe which he sent to the Rochell, where it was translated in French by one who sometime an attorneie at Poiçtiou,



and nowe a fworde bearar, (as fometime was Buchanan, while his limmes ferwed him), playinge the gentleman, a thinge too comone, and too much fuffered in Fraunce, againft the lawes, edictes and the ordinances.

This defamatorie libell declamed contened the Queene his miftres acculation, with all the circumftances they could invent, to make the forged crime probable. Her Maiefties agentes wer certifeed byther freindes of Elizabethes counsell, of all her proceedinges with ther miftres rebelles in fecrets, and that they fhould take heade to enter into conteftatioun, in fo much that the refolution of Elizabeth was certan, and without doubt, to declare ther miftres attainted and conwinned of the murder of her husband, notwithstandinge anie thinge fhee could alledge to the contrarie of ther allegations for her owen iuftification, and to fend this iudgement to all Chriftian princes, to make her odious, and to hinder not onlie to giue her anie fuccour, but alfo they fhould not care for her diftres or forrowes, and her death, which was the caufe that her agent Commiffioners, in fteade of conteftatioun, denied the fact according to the power and commandement which they had, and wold newer paffe forder, fithence the fact depended vpon the confcience of the accused. Yet accordinge to the ordinarie custome of iuftice, and ufual forme in mater of crime, fhee requested it might be permitted her to appeare in perfon in Elizabethes prefence, by her mouth to defend her felff; fithen her accusars wer alfo ther receiued in perfon, and fhee affured her felff fhee fhould make them finde they them felwes wer the authours of that cruell deed, which fallie and maliciouffie they imputed to her.

But this was cruellie denied boith to the Queene and her agentes, againft all right and reason, and therefore boith fcorned to make anie greater instance, thinkinge they fhould gaine no thinge therby, feeinge the countenance Elizabeth and her minions to cherife ther miftres accu-

sars. So her Maiesties Commiſſioners tolde Elizabeth plainlie, ſhee offered greate wronge not onlie to her ſelff, but to the name and honorable maieſtie of all kinges, but in ſpeciall to ther miſtres being a ſoweraigne prince of her owen bloode and neareſt kinnifwoman, to be the authour, as it wer, and manteiner of a ſigmaticall flaiwe and willaine, to utter ſuch willanies againſt his owen miſtres in her preſence in open aſſemblic. They tolde her alſo, that ther miſtres wold not reſuſe to offer her ſelff to the triale of ſuch a companie of ſoweraigne kinges and queenes as the lawes did approwe, and abide at ther ſentence, whatſoewer they ſhould adiudge her to vndergo; and ſhee, reſuſing this her lawfull offer, did offer wiolence to all the kinges and queenes of the earth, and did much prejudice her ſelff. They ſhowe her alſo, that ther miſtres could not, nor wold not, aknowledge her for ſuperiour or iudge, nor themſelwes anie waies obliged to her as waſſalles; prayinge her to performe and acquit her promeſe for ſuccouringe of her made and ſworne ſo often to her by letters and ambaffadouris, which onlie thinge was the meanes to allure and drawe her into her realme, and without the which ſhee had beene longe ago redelie and weele ſuccoured by others, and without tyeinge or bindinge her ſelff to giue them the hearinge her cauſe, in expoſinge her ſelff to the laughinge or moking of anie. Yet notwithstandinge all this, nothinge was concluded. Elizabeth weele ſhewing that [ſhe] was not ſorie, but tooke great pleaſour in theſe falſe accuſations, and deſired no better paſſtime then to heare her coſinge reproched, which was a iuſte cauſe and reaſon, that ſhee her ſelff after, in the courtes of all Chriſtian princes, was the ſubieſt of ther talke for her crueltie and wicked filthie whoriſe liſſe.

Throgmorton,  
Killigrow,  
Randolph.

But to the contrarie, the ſpeech of the Queenes agentes ſo mowed all goode men of the counsell which ſtoode by, which wer of the auncient nobilitie of England, that they could hardlie containe themſelwes and endure ſuch indignities done vnto her, that was of the auncienteſt bloode

of ther kinges, yea, more auncient then that of which Elizabeth came, feinge shee, in the right of her father, did lineallie discend of the Englishe kinges blood, that wer before the conquest, as also they knewe her to be heire apparent of the crowne, in such soorte as they beganne to murmur, sayinge, that it wer goode the traitours wer cutte of at ther returne in Scotland, and that ther mistres wer sett home frie in her owen kingdome, and so doinge Elizabeth should purchesse her selff honour and a goode name, and acquite her faith and promise, so often made and sworne, wheroff none amongest them was ignorant.

Murraie aduertised of these vnpleasant newes, seeinge that he had to do with the greatestt estates of England, that could hawe doone all if they wold, returneth againe to his treasons and his accustomed practises, not without the adwise and counsell of Elizabeth, as shee was directed by her kinde freinde Leicester, who for her pleasour had murdered his owen wiffe, Cecile, the rebelles agent and promoter Walsingham, who all with her selff wer this distressed ladies mortall ennemies; he, I saie, by ther adwise offereth his sifter, as who should saie by her consent, which was not required, nor shee made priwie therto, in mariage to the duke of Norffolke, and promised that if he wer that waie bente, he should not onlie hawe his consent, and the goode will of the nobilitie of Scotland, but he wold make the Queene his mistres to yeelde her goode likinge and consent therto, and bringe all the cuntrie to ther due and naturall obedience. The Duke, thinkinge he did meane trulie as he spoke, and that he spoke the truth from his hearte, was werie glade, and did accept and like weele of the overture, beliwinge he spoke in good earnest without fraude or deceate, and that he was by this meanes desirous to reconcile him selff to his mistres, he gaiwe him a good summe of money, which he was desirous to hawe to helpe forwarde with his cause, and to beare the charges of the enterprife.

By this meanes the false traitour did much adwance him selff, haw-

inge readie monie to do it, so that onlie he obtained libertie and a free passage to returne into Scotland, but extorte letters from the Queene, directed to her liwetennante, who leawied a great number of men to range and order her ennemies, that they should dismisse ther troupes, giwinge them to understand, that ther was in hand a meanes for her deliwerie wherwith they wold be weeie contented. When he tooke his leawe of Elizabeth he shewe her all this negotiation, and the contract of this mariage, declaringe further vnto her, that if shee suffered such a thinge to take place, it should be the readie meanes to take the croune of her heade and put it vpon her cufinges. The Duke of Norffolke beinge stronge and puissant, and weelbelowed and respected of the nobilitie, that wold not faile to assist him for the defence of the title of England, which shee had ewer challenged, not acknowledginge Elizabeth a lafull Queene, praied her still to continowe her goode will towardses him : as also Murraie did entreate Elizabeth to the same effect, and that shee wold assist him against the commone ennemies, knowinge alwaies that his fortune was iound with hers, and that he wold not faile in anie parte of duetie towardses her Maiestie, and that he wold be ewer faithfull and obedient to her, to honour, respect and serwe her with all those of his intelligence : he promised also, that of this pointe he wold giwe her such assurance, as it should please her Maiestie to commande, if shee made anie doubt that his woorde wer not sufficient. To whom shee aunswered, that shee was not ignorant of the trafique betuine her cufinge the Queene of Scottes and the Duke of Norffolke, wishinge him to continowe that which he had begunne, and shewe a good countenance, for it might be the meanes to dispatch her honestie of them boith ; for touchinge the Duke, he beinge her waffall, shee could dispose of him at her pleasure, but as for her cufinge, shee saide shee feared the Kinge of Fraunce, and her parentes, that might be offended therwith, if shee did outrage her so manifestlie and apparentlie, and

fought no better occasion : yeet, if he would giue her goode affurance and pledge, that shee should be ewer assisted by those of his partie in Scotland, and redie succoured if anie assaulte wer giuen her of the French, shee wold fend him her cufinge home into her kingdome, and deliwer her into his handes to use her or abuse her at his pleasour, and that shee might see the meanes thus shee wished, that shee might washe her handes honestlie of her, so that he might compasse the end of his designes ; which shee promised to further and help fordwarde with all her power, and constrain her to do so, albeit shee had no desire vnto it, her fortune beinge so strictlie tried and ioined with hers, that it could not be distracted and separated without evident ruine and losse of boith the one and the other.

To conclude, after manie speeches betuix them, it was agreed that the Prince of Scotland should be deliwered into England for a pledge, and some of the strongest fortresses of that kingdome deliwered to the Englishe, vpon that consideration, that the presoner should be sent backe into her owen cuntrie, and deliwered into the handes of Murraie : Whereby you maie most clearlie see the ambitious minde of the wicked woman, and her intention to appropriat to her selff a realme wherunto shee had no iuste title, and lease her selff boith vpon the mother and the sonne.

After Murraies departure, assuringe her selff of his promises, shee beganne to make knowen the speech and conference that was betuine her and him, and shewe some litle tokens of feinyeed lowe and affection shee bare the Queene her cufinge ; for shee commaunded to warde her more strictlie then from the beginnunge shee had, and depriued her faithfull serwantes of the libertie they had before, to go in Scotland and returne as they best pleased : shee caused them to be staied by her guardes and the capitanes of her fortresses, and the letters they brought thence to her Maieslie to be taken from them and opened ; holdinge, in the mean time, her heade in the water, without anie resolu-

tion of grace or disgrace, goode will or euil will, succour or refuse ; all to hinder or giue order to her afaires by other meanes, or to seeke aide and help of other her weeke willars. Shee also expresse discharged and forbidde her to seeke for anie such meanes, threatninge her in case that anie succour or support should come to her from Fraunce or Spaine for her restitution, that shee wold send tuise so manie Englishe against them for the defence of the Scottishe vnnaturall rebellis, her mortall ennemies, so that shee should gaine nothinge by takinge anie course besides her knoweledge and good likinge, and assuringe her that her liffe should aunswere for it : Wheroff you maie better iudge what goode will and affection Elizabeth did beare this ladie in her trubles, by thrie or foure of her letters shee wrete vnto her, complaininge of vnkindnes and vnnaturall crueltie against her practised flatlie contrarie to her promise and othes often reiterated by her owen letters vnder her hand, and her ambaffadouris in her name.

The copies of Queene Marie her letters to Q. Elizabeth :

Queene Marie her letter to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, my goode sifter, so soone as I had receiued your letters of my serwant Borthuike, I dispatched my serwant Alex<sup>r</sup> Boge into Scotlande, whose returne I haue nowe expected tuintie daies ago, and heare no newes of him ; but haue harde that my Lord of Hunifdon doeth assist and fortifie my rebelles in person, accompanied with the garison of Berwicke, to putt in execution the usurped gowernement of Murraie and his complices ; and that a serwante of the Duke of Chattelaroeh, which had alredie had his pasporte, was sent backe and staied vpon Murraie his aduertisement, and his letters taken, which I do thinke wer for me ; which maketh me suppose it to be greate hazarde for me to heare anie newes out of Scotlande, if you do not take better ordour, and therfore I thought it not meete anie longer to deferre the dispatchinge of my counsellour the Bishope of Roffe, the bearrar of these presentes, to prairie you, that without regarde either of

attendinge the goode or bade dealinge of my subiectes, you will giue me a resolute aunswere, and accordinge to my longe and earnest sute to settle me in my estate, or that you suffer me to seeke succoure of other Princes, my freindes and allies, for it is a whole yeare almost sithence I haue attended your full resolution; duringe which time my rebelles ar fortified, wherthrowe I can not by my goode delaie time longer onresolwed, as the Bisshope of Roffe will giue you more largelie to vnderstand on my pairte. To whome desiringe you, as to my selfe, to giue credite, I will present my affectionat commendations to you: in the meane time I praie God, (goode madame) my goode sifter, to keepe you longe in health and felicitie. From Wingefeilde, 25 Aprile 1569.

Your most affectionat sifter, &c.

M. R.

MADAME, Notwithstandinge you haue commaunded by my L. of Shreuisburie, and by my serwant, that my serwantes should haue the same libertie to go and come that they had at Boulton; but so it is, that my Lord of Hunifdon wold not suffer my serwant Alex<sup>r</sup> Boge, hawinge the letteris of the saide Earle, accordinge to your commandement, for his transporte, but detained him foure daies till he receiued letters from Murraie, that had ewer foughte my utter overthrowe. I beseech you, goode madame, that your officers maie not be permitted to debarre me of the libertie you asorde me, for I had rather it wer not giuen me at all, then so to be giuen me, and not to enioye it. And as touchinge the newes of Scotlande, Alex<sup>r</sup> Boge is intercepted with his letters, which the L. Hunifdon hath sent you them by an other after he had graunted him and an other of my serwantes pasporte, wheroff you maie be better aduertised not of that which the Duke and his brother, the bisshope, and the Lord Harries haue written vnto me, of all which I will not feill to certifie you, (accordinge to my promese,) by the Bisshope of Roffe, and make you vnderstand the truth of what I knowe in

Q. Marie her letter  
to Q. Elizabeth.

that busines ; desiringe you to confider the complaintes which, in my behalfe, the faide Bishope shall shewe you, and to giue me a breiffe resolution therin, to the end longe delaies make me not fall againe into the same inconveniences throwe greiffe and forrowe, to be swallowed vp therin. And so committinge my minde in all thinges vnto my faide counsellour, I take my leiue, presentinge my heartiest commendatiounes vnto you, goode madame my sifter, and praie your God and mine to giue vs both a longe and happie liffe. From Wingefeilde, 26 Aprile 1569.

Your most affectionat sifter, &c.

M. R.

Q. Marie to Q.  
Elizabeth.

MADAME, understandinge that the Bishope of Rosse, my counsellour that I sent vnto you, had the same delaies and obiections made, (to hinder the readie shewe of your goode will towards me,) alledginge that I had made some contracte with my Lorde of Anjowe, brother to the Kinge my brother in lawe, which might prejudice you, I have forced my selff, beinge euil at ease in health by these bade writin letters, to assure you vpon my conscience, honour and credite, (if you will belive me,) that I have neuer made contracte with him, nor anie other, touchinge anie thinge might prejudice you, nor yeet had ewer anie such mater in my heade so hazardfull and disadvantageous to the realme and my selff, as to make anie such contract and transmussion ; of which I will make you such prooffe and assurance, as you shall advise me, as the Bishope of Rosse will shewe you more at large, prayinge you to belive him and excuse me, for I am not in health to wrete as the subject and will I have to satisfie your minde in the foirsaides doeth require ; onlie I have strained my selff to giue you this testimonie vnder my hand, vnto which I call God to witnes, and praie vnto him to have you in his protection. This Sundaie morninge, the 11 Maii 1569.

Your most affectionat, &c.

M. R.



There be manie mo copies of letters of like discourfe written by her Maieftie, fome in Engliſhe, ſome in French, afweele to Q. Elizabeth, and to the Earle of Leiceſter, by which one maie ſee manie conſolatiounes which they gawe this Ladie, which ſhee charged them with to hawe keepte her in ſuſpence, forteſeinge in the meane while her owen diſſoiale ſubiectes, and diſarminge her goode and faithfull ones. Yee maie perceiwe howe Q. Elizabeth and her counsell cauſe her letters be intercepted, to diſcower all the aſaires and intelligences which ſhee might hawe from Scotland of her faithfull ſubiectes yeet remaininge loiale, althought before they had giuen her libertie to do, that they might communicate all to traitoure Murraie, ther owen darlinge. You maie ſee howe they gaiwe frie paſporte and leawe to ther faithfull loiale ſubiectes, to go and come frielie without diſturbance; and yeet, when they vnderſtoode of ther iorneie, they made them be ſtaied vpon the frontiers and bordouris, and giwe they caried anie letteris they wer taken from them; but findinge they caried none, then they were ſtriſtly examined and charged with ſuch thinges, as neither this ladie thought or dreamed of, nor anie ſhee ſent from her: ſo honourablie was ther graunted aſſurance of a frie paſtport, that it became a ſnare to this goode ladie. They will afforde her no conforte, but lende ther helpinge hand and aſſiſtance to her ennemies, openlie ſendinge garrifons to the frontiers to ioine with Murraie, when he wold emploie ther ſervice to the greate diſhonour of his miſtres and the hurte of his natiue cuntrie. Who is ſo blinde that he maie not weeke enough ſee and perceiwe the cunninge and the iuglinge craftes which wer, from time to time, invented to amaſe and truble this ladie, to keep her from all reſolution? Whilles her rebelles go forwarde to her preiudice and her yonge ſonnes, the whole rewenneus of the croune beinge ſpent to further them in all ther traiterous attemptes, ſhee is moleſted with moſt iniuſt emprefonment, her loiale ſubiectes by force of fire and ſwoorde, by Elizabeth

and her counsell, driwen in exile, ther rewenneus feased vpon by the rebellis. Shee is made by them to be the onlie cause of her owen misfortune, by imposinge vpon her that which shee neuer so much as thought vpon. They fallie laie to her charge, that shee made ower to the Duke of Anjowe, her Maiesties brother in lawe, to giue vp and surrender the title which shee might hawe, or then had, to the croune of Englande, and that [to] truble Queene Elizabeth, which shee neuer dreamed. We hawe seene howe Murraie, after his returne into Scotland, did shoue the face and countenance of a man that desired no thinge, but the deliwerie of his mistres from her longesome and werisome prison, boastinge it to be the thinge that he wold with all his possibilitie procure to establishe a quiet peace in the cuntrie; and that he might make the mules sleepe, and abuse the loiale true subiectes of the Queene, he sent Sir Robert Melvill to her Maiestie, to founde her intention anent the mariage he had propounded to her with the Duke of Norfolke, not that he had anie meaninge to bringe it about, but onlie to bringe her in a snare, which after shee was iniustlie charged with by the first dewisers theroff.

There is an assemblie of the nobilitie of Scotlande apointed at St Johnston, indifferent boith of these that stode for the pairte of ther Soweraigne Ladie, as of these that stode for the Englishe faction and Murraie, with full purpose to empreson and massacre those that stode faithfull and constant for ther mistres; onles they, beinge certifeed of the intended treacherie against them, had come weele accompanied with freindes and ther kinnisfolkes, to resist the garrisons that wer secretlie prepared to the effect foirfaide. In the fittinge of this assemblie, the Duke of Norfolke wrete vnto Murraie by a trustie gentleman, puttinge him in minde of the promese he had made him, that is, that he wold send him the ioint consent of the nobilitie for his mariage with the Queene, wheroff him selff was the first authour and propounder, by the

councell and Queene of Englandes adwife, as he tolde him. Murraie, in the meane while, hawinge caught the fishe in the nett, by the adwife of his ennemies, as he was before cunninglie taught by Queene Elisabeth and her councell, feedes the messenger with faire woordes, and in all haiste sendeth the Duke his letter, by one whome he trusted with the busines, to the Queene of England, who, owinge otherwise the Duke a grudge, desired but the least pretext or shewe of anie cullour to make a dispatche of him, because he was weele favoured and lowed of the commone people and all honest men, and speciallie, because he was not so sharpe and rigorous in the behalfe of the captiue Queene as shee desired then when shee gaiwe him the commission, and because he condemned not her to die then, or at least rudlie delte with her, to the goode likinge of her and her lyinge accusers. In which doinge shee sheweth her selfe to be her fathers daughter, who putt manie to death, rather for that they wold not consent to the fulfillinge of his filthie lustes, then for anie lowe he had to a true and sinceire profession of anie religion, which he pretended they refused to embrace, and so denied there due allegiance boith to ther God and him.

Thus was this simple man, not thinkinge anie harm to Q. Elizabeth, brought to his end, without whose aide shee had neuer come to the croune: He was apprehended and committed to the Toure of London by the treacherie of his ennemies, but speciallie Leicester, who bare him a priue grudge, because he discowered to his mistres, that he mowed him to attempt the mariage of Queene Marie, and after at the command of Q. Elizabeth he gaiws ower that busines; but Leicester did animate and encourage him of newe againe to proceede, promising him it should not lie in his mistres Queene Elizabethes power to hinder the same. But most of all, it stirred vp Leicester to awenge him selfe of the Duke, because on a time, he holdinge the bason to his mistres washinge her handes, after shee had done, Leicester presuminge to

walhe, the Duke holdinge yeet the bafon before anie other receiued it out of his handes, he dafhed bafon and water vpon his face. So anie man maie efelie perceiue, that the diftreffed Princes and the Duke be both innocentlie accused of that they newer intended nor thought of, which they alledge that wer ther ennemies and calumniatouris, was to bereawe Queene Elizabethe of her croune and her liffe, by prefuminge to bringe this mariage to paffe without her goode will ; for howe could the Duke marie the Queene prefoner without confent of the Queene Elizabeth and her counsell, fhee beinge fo ftronglie gairded as fhee was? Howe could fhee paffe frie, and be fett at libertie without ther knoweledge? Whowe can be fo fhameleffie brafen faced to maintaine fuch a notorious lie? All the nobilitie, all the commoune people, knewe weeke the contrarie : ther was none of the Priwie counsell of Elizabeth that helde it not onlie goode and moft expedient, but alfo goode and profitable, that this mariage fould be effectuated for the commone goode of all the Ilande of Greate Britainne : Onlie Bacon, keeper of the Broade Seale, ftoode on the contrarie opinion.

Q. Elizabeth from the beginnunge held this mariage goode, and likewise the enterprife in attemptinge it. Shee promefed audience in the prefence of her counsell at diuers places for refolution, and hawe the fame (for confirmatioun of it) lawe enacted that time and place did require. Thefe faithles promefes, newer meant to be keepte, wer made to the Duke, (he fend for to come thither), at Gifforde, at Farnham, at Bafinge, at Athet, and diuers other places. But all was hindered, boith by the fufpicious miftrufte Elizabeth naturallie ewer had arifinge in her felff, as likewise by the fubtile practifes of the faide Dukes ennemies and the captiue Queenes, by whole fleightes and dewilifhe doinges and enterprifes, they wer boithe brought in the fnare, and to ther ondeferwed end : For from the werie beginnunge of her raigne, Elizabeth newer liued without feare and fufpicion, yea, fhee

was ewer in such care and anguise of minde, that shee at all times was brought to such distrustfull miserie, that if in her fighte and presence two did speake and talke together, yea, although it wer of ther owen domesticall afaires, they ar presentlie apprehended, committed and sharplie accused and examined, and in the end charged with treason; and if by ignorance, and in simplicitie, they crosse the interrogatorie made vnto them, and do speake doubtfullie, they ar attanted, condemned in hie treason, hanged, drawen and quartered; and to speake more plainlie, they be drawen to the gallowes on a hurdle, there bellie is ripped vp, and cutt in quarters, and ther heartes, yeet brethinge and pantinge, throwen into the fire.

The principall and chieffe cause that mowed Elizabeth to hate and distruste Marie was, because shee wold neuer renounce nor giue ower her right and title, which she had of the croune of England after her decaise, and because shee wold neuer consent that the younge [Prince] her sonne should be deliwered for hostage in England, for shee ewer saide, shee her self alone had rather endur her captiuitie, then shee and he boith should be Elizabethes presoners to be used at her pleasure. It is weele knowne howe Elizabeth, by the direction of her counsell, send her ambasadoure in Scotland, wishing Murraie, at a certane daie shee apointed, to come to the frontiers and bordoures, there to receiue the Queene his mistres, accordinge to the covenantes and agrementes which shee with him and the rest of his disloiale faction had agreed vpon with her and her counsell; but as the false hearted traitour was goinge on this iorneie, hawinge come the daie before from the younge kinge at Sterlinge, where he hade apointed his uncle the counte Marre to followe after with the younge kinge, to deliwer him pledge in England priwelie, so soone as he had receiued the mother his mistres, the nighte, daie, and all time nowe abhorringe this detestable treacherie, prowte to him onfortunate, his ruine approchinge vnto him; for the next daie

after he came from Sterlinge, as he was takinge horſe at Lithquoe to ride towarde Edinburghe, nowe he beinge alredie mounted, and environned rounde about with freindes, James Hammilton of Boidwelhauche did ſhoote him from a gallerie with a harquebuſhe, wheroff he died the ſame werie nighte.

But in his end this to be noted, that his adulterous mother beinge weele knowen and famous in forcerie and witchcraſte, did ſend one in all haſte by poſte to him at Sterlinge, wiſhing him, as he lowed his life, not to vndertake that woiage and iorneie he was about, leaſt it ſhould prove fatall vnto him : but who can hinder the ruine of him who had brought ſo manie miſeries vpon his miſtreſſe, the younge kinge and nobilitie and the whole comoune wealth he was borne ? It was weele knowen that not manie yeares before, a dewiliſh witch beinge condemned to die in the fire and to be burned, the ſaide Murraie commandinge that they ſhould take a barrell of gunne powder to burne her with ; when ſhee vnderſtoode of the preparatioun of ſo much gunne powder, beſide the tarre barrellis that was prepared for the fire, ſhee burſte forth in the words on a ſudden, What needed all this gunne powder ? what needed my Lord of Murraie to prepare all this gunne powder ? les nor one ounce weighte ſhalbe his end : which thinge nowe we ſee accompliſhed. Belike the deuill him ſelff knewe weele he deſerued a miſcheiuous end for all his theſe treacheries foirſaide. I can not paſſe by one notable crueltie, which he not longe before execute vpon the wiſſe of the ſaide James Hamilton, whilk as he perſecuted all the name of Hammilton with fire and ſworde, and with a puilliant and ſtronge armie did owerthrowe all ther fortes and caſtles, with ther other houſinge, with gunne powder, at laſt he cometh to the houſe of him who killed him, and burned it amongeſt the reſt : but whilleas they ar puttinge to the fire, a gentle woman, accompanied with ſome others younge maiides, caſtes them ſelff doune on ther knies, with ther haire about ther ſhoulders, weepinge piti-

fullie, prayinge Murraie to pitie her poore fifter, who was that nighte broughte to bed of a childe, neither of them like to liue. But what should they praie? what should they mowe the harte of a merciles man, more harde then the flint or the adamant? He wold heare them; but commaunded that shee and her childe should be brought forth in a paire of double blankettes. In this meaneth commeth her husbände, and before shee was broughte foorth, he prostratinge him selff befoire the tyraunte, entreateth humblie fawour for his wiffe, permittinge his house and all therin to the sawage furie of the man, he receiweth no other aunfwere then saide gentlewoman did: he seeinge the rage of the cruell man vnapeasable, and his wiff and her childe broughte forth amongest the fire and smooke, half gaspinge for breath, and nowe like to perishe in the cruell flammes of the fire and smooke, burste out furiously in the woordes following, which after he performed in deed. I do woue and promise to the greate God, as you most cruellie without mercie denie my iuste and humble sute, and bring my poor wiffe and childe to this extreeme miserie, I shall as cruellie make fire be your end, and losse my liif with you. In his death, wee see the iuste iudgement and wengeance of God showinge vpon him, for as he without mercie bringeth others miserablie to end in the cruell flammes of fire, so do others serue him with the like beafflie crueltie.

This gulle, whome all the leade that the most of the churches of Scotland was cowered with, could not satisfie to fill his gredie cowetousnes, hath nowe his bellie full of a little bullet of leade. The leade of the metropolitan church of St Andrewes, where he was priour, and manie mo churches there, wer sent by him into Flanders and other places, by him, and his uncle the Count Marre, his starte vp, oncowered the Abbie church of Cambuskenneth and others, (as also all of ther faction did the like,) and that to mantaine ther trefonable attemptes by the monie they made theroff against ther laufull Queene. By this meanes, and this vn-

godlie sacrilegious church robberie, manie Scottishe merchauntes wer brought to extreme miserie and powertie, yea, manie losse ther liues by shipe wrake on the sea, when as they wer trawellinge towardes diuers cuntries with ther weffellis, wherin they caried it and the rest of the merchandize.

But Elizabeth hearing of the suddenn death of her hired agent, all amazed for the losse of so necessarie and trustie a Machiwell wherthrowe her enterprise coulde not come to such effect shee expected, shee chaunges her minde in the sendinge her prafoner home, thinkinge that by the dispatche of Murraie, his uncle Marre should not be suffered by the loiale subiectes, to deliwer the younge kinge in her handes, shee bethinkes her selff howe shee maie ridde boith her and sonne out of the waie by poyson: and for this purpose there was one sent in Scotlande, first to dispatche the sonne, but by what meanes I knowe not, he chaunced to come to the castle of Dumbartan wher some that did holde that stronge fortresse for ther lafull Queene, and so he could neuer come wher the younge kinge was keepte, and so this busines, to the greate confort all the loiale subiectes tooke therby; for in the end, when as the Earle of Lenox, the younge kinge his graundefather, tooke by force of armes the faide castle, amongest otheris this detestable traitourouse willane was founde and apprehended, and vpon examination confessed he was sent out [of] Englande to the effect foirsaide, and gaiwe him selff out to be a follower of the Duke of Norffolke, and so he was sent home in England he beinge an Englishman borne, but we neuer harde of his execution, belike because the thinge he was sent for was approwed weele by them who sent him, and to whome he was sent backe againe.

As for the Italian posselt (as they call it) was prepared for the mother, it was discowerd by her officers and attendantis, that ferwed her in meate and drinke, and her tasters, which some of them bought full



deare, in that hardlie elchapeinge with ther liif; the strength of the poyson was so forcible, that they liwed ewer after languishinge till the daie of ther death, which made boith her selff, and all that was about her after, ewer daie and nighte, to haue a speciall care to saiwe her from such fearefull inconveniences. In this meane while, Elizabeth and her counsellors, disapointed of ther bolde dewelishe attemptes, rainging in a furie quicklie raifeth an armie, and by the conducte of the Earle of Suffex, shee sendeth it vpon the frontiers to seeke out, (but this was but a coulour,) some Englishe rebelles that had ther refuge thither: the search was made in Scotland, newer sendinge woorde to Scotishe wardines, to ioine with them for this purpose, (as the custome in such caces vpon the frontiers is wont to be obserwed,) and in steade theroff, ten thousand men in hostile maner inwade in open warre, and range thorowe all the bordoures of Scotlande, (for no rebelles was foughte for come from Englande thither, for ther was none,) Hume Caste and the owner my Lord Hume, and the Lord Maxwell, Fearnieharte and Bacleuch ar fought for with fire and sworde, ther fortresses and holdes fired and robbed, and all men that dwelt in ther landes chased from there owen, ther goodes, munition and armour taken and caried in Englande. Shorte while after, not satisfied with this cruell dealinge and manifest iniurie, Druerie is sent with an other armie to come with those that stood for Murraie in the hearte of the kingedome, where cruellie they burned the stronge palice and caste of Hamilton boith in one houer, it beinge helde for Q. Marie, and vpon agreement and conditiones randered by the keepers in ther handes; and so passed they fordwarde as they began cruellie, and burned all whatsoewer did belonge to anie of the name of Hammilton, housinge and other, and robbed them ther goodes, not sparinge to slaughter the brutish beaste, leiwinge them aliue in the flames of the fearce fire, thinkinge it a goode reason they mighte lafullie do all those wronges to anie that was of the name of Hamilton, althought he

wer as innocent of aiding anie of the contrarie factions as the childe yeet vnborne.

In the end they com to Lithquo, and the castle of Kinneile, which boith they burned, because they wer the Duke of Chettleroe his enheritance. O Heawen, whie hides thou not lighte ! O Earth, whie shakes thou not and trembles in beholdinge and seeinge such merciles crueltie executed vpon innocentes, that neuer deserued thus to be dealte with ! No other reason had they, nor yeet coulde pretend anie excuse to those designs, but that one of that name had killed Murraie, Queene Elizabeth her pentioner and hired serwant, to ruinate his native cuntrie, and his lafull Queene and mistres her loiale subjects ; and that cheiffe and speciall gentlemen of that name repentinge ther rashnes in assisting Murraie at the first, when he begane to invade the roiale scepter of his mistres, nowe at length they subiected themselwes to the obeyfance of ther Soweraigne, and caried armes in the defence of her right against the traitour Murraie, who from the beginning of these trubles, vnder a shadowe, made a cloake of religion to wndo his mistres, to banishe her loiale subiectes, and vndo them, that all that stood for her beinge able to do no thinge, he might intrude himself in the gowernement of the whole kingdome.

Elizabeth thus hawinge weakned her prefoners faithfulest serwantes, shee beginnes to make a shewe of a newe accorde with her, so that shee wold aknowledge her for her Superiour, and putt in her handes the greater parte of all the strongest fortresses and castles of Scotlande, and deliuer in her handes her younge sonne the kinge, and all the cheiffe of the nobilitie that wer for her, for pledges and hostages that shee should not in anie sorte stirre or make anie commotion, or take greiuouslie for entertainment in Englande, or anie thinge past befoire that time, nor yeet hawe anie recourse to forren Princes to seeke wengeance for the iniuries shee had endured, and abowe all, that shee should renunce the auncient league with Fraunce, and in place

theroff make a newe league with Englande. But the Queene seeinge such straunge and extravagant demaundes, and by often experience knowen weele whether such extravagant positiounes tended, chose to abide rather the present captiuitie then to yeilde her selff to her disloiale rebelles at Elizabethes commaunde to be used at her pleasour; and her sonne and nobilitie in her hands to do with boith, what shee and her counselloures should best like on: besides that shee vnderstoode the stronge holdes and castles of Scotlande, being at her commaunde, it wer a redie waie to make a fulle conqueste of the whole kingdome, which shee and her foirfathers befor her wer neuer able to attaine vnto, albeit with much bloode shed they had attempted it, they wer so curagioullie resisted by her auncestouris, and ther faithfull subiectes, in tyme past all memorie of man.

But Elizabeth, perceiwinge that shee should hawe to do with a ladie that did weele see into all her fubtile practises vndertaken by the counsell of her deuile incarnate Leicester, and that shee had to do with one better adwised then her selff, betakes to another course, and negotiates with the Chriffian Kinge Charles 9, for which Admirall Memorancie was sent into Englande. Amongst the heades of this league then made, it was speciallie agreed and concluded, that Elizabeth should not giue anie aide or fauoure to the Scotishe rebelles against ther Soweraigne; but shee neuer keepte a woorde of her promese, albeit shee wer sworne to it, for immediatlie after shee sent an armie to the rebelles to beseige the Castle of Edinburghe, which then held for Queene Marie her cusinge, vnder the commandement of Squier William Kirkcaldie of Grange. After longe beseeinge two whole yeares, he did yeelde it by composition to the Englishe, beinge driwen therto be infection of the springe that yeelded water to the fountane in the faide Castle, which at the fute of the hill and rocke was poisoned by the English, wherby all his foiores wer poisoned. [He] was in the end, contrarie to the lawe of armes, hanged

by Morton, then tyraunt of Scotland vnder the commandement of Elizabeth, whome Morton suffered boith by sea and land. [Of] all the Scottishe shippes, that had not a pasporte from Morton, wheroff he made a greate gaine, in lesse space then 2 yeares, ther was, by iuste accompt, 224 ships frauchte with merchandize pelled and robbed by the Englishe ; which the poore merchandes complained on, and findinge no redresse, concluded to make out a fleete to repaire ther losse : but all in waine, for Morton boith certifeed Elizabeth of ther determinatioun, and likewise empresoned some of them, others he fined in greate sommes of money, so that none durste furre. In the end, the whole communitie of all the corporatioune townes and cities of Scotland, concluded in a meetinge for this purpose to send one Mr Adam Fullerton, with some other of the wisest of the companie of merchantis, to require and demaunde redresse of these harmes at Elizabethes handes. A greater mischeiff did neuer anie of the braiwest and stoutest of all her auncestoures woorke to the Scottishe in so shorte a time by open warre, then shee did nowe in time of peace.

But shee, feedinge them with faire woordes, holdinge ther beakes in the water for the space of 2 whole yeares, makinge them spend a greate deale of monie in the iuste peruite of ther cause, sendeth them from Caiphas to Pilate, giweth them leawe to departe, without anie other aunswere from her and her counsell, then they could not do with all. The Queene and her counsell wer not bounde to aunswere that which pirates did at the sea : they might aunswere them selwes if they wold ; which, if they gone forward in when they first intended it, they wer certanlie informed, that shee thought to hawe sent forth her admirall and a full armie to hawe made goode her pirates deedes ; for some of them that wrought all this mischeiffe to the merchantes of Scotland, wer her owen captaines and shippes, who had dailie paie of her. This aunswere was giwen at Greinewich, where a riche English merchant, piteinge the distressed estate of certane Scottish merchant,

whome he had seene often beyonde sea in filke and fatine and welwet, richlie apparelled, and rode in a footeclothe of welwet, then poorelie clothed in cannues, caste him selff doune before the Queene and her counsell, and receiwinge no goode aunswere to his contentment, he calles him and tolde him, that it was those of the counsell that lightlie respected them, who wer the werie theiwes and pirates them selwes, seinge they did authorize the doers, and they and the Queene her selff had a parte in the bootie, as they had in all that was taken of the French shippes that wer robbed of Normandie and Flaunders, her owen confederates. So we maie see what it profeteth to be in league with her, who newer regardeth it more then it standeth with her advantage: it [is] weele knowen, also, that some of her counsell and nobles had ther shippes at sea to robbe and pille, asweele as shee.

But to come to our purpose, concerninge the intelligence which paste betuine those of Elizabethes counsell, together with the theiwes and rebellis, I can not passe ower in silence the roberie of Monfure Dolu, Thesaurar Generall to the Q. of Scottes: he bringinge her some of her dourie moneye from Fraunce, with some ringes sett richlie with precious stones, together with some jewelles of greate waleue, and a faire chaine of golde in walue 2000 French crounes, and a lookinge glasse of the like walewe, Walsingham, Secretarie of Estate, after he had giwen Monfure Dolu his pasporte, thinkinge that he had the saide Queenes whole yeeres rent of her dourie in charge about him, made him be attended by secrete spies by the waie, amongest whome was two yeomen of the Queene his mistres garde, notorioullie knowen, who at the first meetinge wounded the said thesaurar and diwerse of his companie, and tooke from them all they had about them: wheroff no redresse could be had, althought the robbers wer taken, (and those wer the two yeomen of the garde in speciall,) by a iustice dwellinge neare where the roberie was done; but he had litle thanke for his lauboure.

The theiwes wer committed to the Toure for a while, till the peoples talke theroff staid ; but no restitution was made to this houer.

Queene Elizabeth and her counsell hawinge fuborned and seduced treacheroullie the Counte Arran to forsake Fraunce, to laie and begunne the general complot of the rewolt of the Scottishe nobilitie, anno 1559, feedinge him with a waine hope of her mariage to owerthrowe him in the end used the proude ambitious spirite of the bastarde brother of the Queene with faire promeses of rewarde and gowernement, to arme him against her Maiestie, to be defence and refuge for all her rebelles ; helpinge them with monie and counsell, instructinge them howe to dissemble till ther peace wer obtained for them, to the end they might the more easelie effect that which they traiteroullie intended to execut, that is, first to murder the Secretarie Daud, and then the Kinge there maister, which they saide they newer knewe of his cruell murder till it was done, but contrarie wise made shewe they wer greatlie offended with it, and wold punishe the murder with all seweritie and rigour, albeit they knewe weele who they were, and them selwes wer the cheiffe actouris and the authouris, ministers, conforters, and forwarders setters theroff, wer at Berwicke, who haistned the execution theroff by direction from the counsell at London, that gaiwe the watchwoorde, and showe them the meanes and oportunitie, and putt fire to the strawe, (as the proverbe is,) to drawe into ther handes, ambassages and faire promeses, the honest weele meaninge Queene of Scotland, wer sent and made faithfullie promesed to be obserwed. In the end her ennemies, sett a worke by Elizabeths vpsfurringe, furnishinge them with monie, bringes her cusinge to manie inconveniences, and by force driwen by her disloiale subiectes to forsake her kingdome and natiwe cuntrie, her true faithfull subiectes beinge owerthrowen and brought vnder, and thee her self fleeinge ther furie, (thinkinge Elizabeth wold keepe promise, sworne by her often messages, and writen by her owen hand to her,) fleeth

for succour to her, which, at the first arriwale, shee promised constantlie to performe, sayinge, shee in her owen person wold with a stronge armie accompanie her as farre as the frontiers, effect, and put her in former estate in her kingdome, so that all her ennemies should neuer be able to truble her.

But in place of succour and aide, shee findeth harde empresonment, vngentle dealinge in place of hospitalie, the lawe of nationnes broken; her serwitoures, that should hawe beene, by reason of the greatnes of her person, ewer about her, for her honour and assurance, put from her, and shee left desolate in respect of the small companie about her: shee is forbidden that none should speake with her, or wrete to her; that shee should neither send nor receiue anie newes, no not to her owen sonne, nor heare from him; that shee should hawe no comforte or releiffe sent vnto her in filwer, golde, Jewelles; shee should receiue no houshoulde stufte, or whatsoewer elles. They ar accounted traitoures, and put cruellie to death, if they can be knownen, who afforde her anie of these in courtesies; yea, those who speake a goode woorde of her, pitie her estat, or looke pitiefullie vpon her, commend Godes goode graces in her, as her witte and wisdome, her beautie, her wertue, or do defend her honour, or commend her bountie to the poore, or saie shee seemeth to be innocent of the hainous offences wherwith shee is charged, straight he is accounted a false tratoure, and punished sharplie by fine in goodes, if he escape with his life. Should not the Bishope of Rosse, her ambassadour, hawe beene poisoned by meanes of those who then wer in hie place in the courte of England? Was he not committed to the Toure of London as a traitour against the lawe of nationnes? Was not Charles Balie most iniustlie threatned to be raked, because he wold [not] confesse and witnes against the honour of [his] Soveraigne ladie and mistres, thinges shee neuer thought vpon? Was he not in the end putt to the rake, because he, beinge her secretarie, wold hawe published a

litle booke, wretine by him in the defence of his mistres honoure, in the sclaunder[which] was sprede abroad of her by her ennemies, that shee had lauboured that armies diuers times should haue beene lewied, and sent in England to haue owerthrowen the face of the publick state of England, and to haue beaten doune the Queenes castles and fortresses, and ranfaked her tounes and cities, and that shee should haue assisted her rebelles and ennemies practisinge against her, encouraginge them, by yearlie pensions and annuities in money, to attempt against the Queene and some specialles of the nobilitie; and likewise to haue carefullie gone about the like in Scotland.

Should this noble Queene and her faithfull serwantes, showinge ther loialtie in defendinge ther mistres innocencie in these things wherof shee [was] most iniustlie accused, be thus dealt with? God, beholde from aboue the wrongfull dealinge and doinges of wretched miserable men heire belowe! On the contrarie, it is weeke knowen, howe Elizabeth her self hath in deede, by the adwise of her councellores, done all this and more in Scotland, Fraunce, and the Lawe cuntries, althought shee wer sworne in league with them all. To passe by the iniuries shee dailie did offer her wronged presoner, manie in number, it is weeke knowen howe shee braiued the Kinge of Fraunce, in facinge, outraginge his ambassadoures and officeres, and caussinge them be robbed by the waie, that by this meanes, (because they laubored her to deale more courtellie with her owen kinniswoman), shee might werie them for the Kinge to deale anie longer to procure anie fawour at her handes for his sifter and allie. But Robert Dudlie, her deare cusinge, could finde greater fawour at her handes in an honeste busines at noone, in the nighte, whose death shee so bewailed, that hearinge of it shee shutte her self all alone faste in a chamber, till Effex, (the leedes beinge vp from the rooffe,) came doune from aboue to confort her, whome ewer after shee liked the better: and Christopher Chattam pleased her so weeke, that



when he fikned, shee neither spared coste nor trawell to poste to wifite him, and ministred physike vnto him. The neareft kinnifwoman shee had in the world, could newer, in all her afflictions, obtaine of her anie of those favouris; but in place theroff, all the euill shee could procure her and her younge sonne, whome shee cauffed, by his disloial subiectes, made her time serwers by briberie, be detained presoner till he satiffed her and ther mindes, whose violent handes he had hardlie escaped, except God in his prowident mercie had preferwed him.

After shee harde of the captivitie of her sonne, when shee beganne to languishe of a fore sicknes, of the which the Englishe physitions reported to ther mistres wold shorrtine her daies, which shee desired and longed for nowe longe ago. The desolate mother, fearinge the present estate of her deare childe, whom shee could not helpe, confort, nor succour, hawinge no other meanes, turneth her selff to God by praier, recommending her selff and him to his divine protection, beseeching him in his mercie to mollifie her cufinges heart towardes her and her poore childe; and laste, putteth her hand to the pen and wreteth to her cufinge, compleineth of her crueltie in the iniuste detention of her and her childe in captiuitie, and harde entreatie and usage of them boith, who newer deserwed anie fuch rigour at her handes.

LADIE, Touchinge the thinges that ar come to my sure knowledge of the last conspiracies done in Scotlande againste my owen childe, hawinge all occasion to fear the consequence, by the experience I hawe in my owen person, I hawe thought it convenient for me to applie the litle time of liffe I hawe lefte me before my death, fullie to discharge my conscience of my most iuste and lamentable complaintes, of which I desire this letter maie serwe you for a perpetuall testimonie, so longe as you shall liwe, and for a grudge to your conscience, asweele for my discharge to all posterities, as for the shame and confusion of all those who, in your fighte, hawe so cruellie and unworthelie hitherto handled

Q. Marie to Q.  
Elizabeth.

me, and broughte me to that extremitie which you weelee fee and understande: But infomuch that ther designes, practises, and proceedinges, (howe odious and detestable foewer they be,) hawe in regairde of you prewailed, and had the vpper hand, against the most iuste disclames I hawe made, and my vpright behawioure, (as God knoweth boith mine and youres.) The force and power which you ewer hawe in your owen handes giweth you a dewe respect against me: I will take my refuge to the liwinge God, our onlie judge, which hath equallie and immediatlie placed us vnder him in gowernement of his people: I will intreat him onlie, in the extremitie of this most present affliction, to rewarde boith you and me, (as he will do righteously in the daie of his last iudgment), ewen accordinge to our demerites or misbehaviour, and mercies, one towards the other. Remember your self, goode Madame, howe we can disguise no thing before him by our paintines and policies. Albeit my ennemies maie, vnder you, cullour it for a time before men, yea, peradventure, also maie hide ther subtil practises before you, in his name, as fittinge iudge betuine you and me, I will discower to you, howe by your onlie agentes, spies, secrete messengers, sent in your name into my kingdome of Scotland duringe the time I was ther, my subiectes wer corrupted and sturred vp by you, to attempt and rebell against me in my owen person, and in one woorde to do, vndertake, and execute that which, induringe my saide troubles, hapned in the saide cuntrie, wheroff I will specifie no other verificatioun at this present, then that which I hawe drawen out of the confession, and confronted testimonies of one, which since was one of those who is most advanced in regairde of such his goode service; to whome, if I then had done iustice, he had not since, by olde intelligences, rewiwed and renewed the same practises against my sonne, and had not provided meanes for all my traiterous subiectes takinge ther refuge vnto you, of the aide and support ewer since my restraint till the same werie daie, for default

Morton.  
Throgmorton.

wheroff, I thinke the same traitouris had prewailed nor stode out since so longe as they hawe done. Duringe my restrainte at Lochleuine, Throgmorton, nowe deceased, councelled me in your behalfe to signe the dimission and surrender of my croune, assuringe me that it could be of no force; which thinge your owen selff did promise to make goode by your owen hand wretinge to me; Denie it if you can: Moe, others then my selff hawe seene it, which thing no part of Christendome did ewer approwe to be goode in lawe or conscience, except heire by your authoritie, where your counsell do aide and mantaine my traitorous subiectes against me, ther onlie lafull soweraigne ladie. In my conscience to desire you, goode madame, I desire you vprightlie, in your soule and conscience, to shewe me frielie and trulie, if you could weeles approwe and like the libertie and power in your owen subiectes ower you, which you, against all conscience, righte and reason, mantaine in my subiectes and your owen to bringe me and my libertie and estate to your subiection, which I truste in God shall newer be.

By your onlie counsell and perswasion, my authoritie was surrendered, (by meanes of my traitorous harted subiectes, whome you suborned subtiltie for your advantage, and not mine,) to my deare sonne, (whome you lowed no better than me, if you coulde compasse him in your claues), he beinge then incapable theroff; he beinge in regarde of his yong yeares vnable to exercise it: and since that time, when I wold hawe lafullie assured him theroff, it is, besides boith right and reason, taken from him by your counsell and helpe, and giwen to two or thrie traitoures mantained by your plaine force and violence, who, in werie deede, by your subtille dealinge against your conscience and promise made to me, often seeke to depriue him theroff, as they and you hawe alredie done me, boith of the name and title, because I did contradicte them and you in that which was my iuste proper righte, which I hope my said sonne after me will seeke to hawe as his owen

due righte when time fhall ferwe, and that the Lorde in his mercie will provide for his and my prefervation boith heire belowe, and with him in the hie heavens when he fhall call us to reft with him.

So foone as I deliwered my felff, by Godes diwine providence, and the helpe of thofe whome he mowed to pitie my harde bondage in prefonment, into the which I was broughte by the meanes of your fubtile dealinge, by your ambaffadouris in flurringe vp my fubiectes againft me, I was able to bidde my ennemies batle, and to mantaine my righte that God in his mercie had preordinate me vnto, I fent in a token to you a jewel, a diamonde, which before time I had receiued of you, in a token and affurance of your fincere lowe and affection, to be mantained and fecured by you as my neareft kinnifwoman, againft all my ennemies whatfoewer, and in fpeciall againft my traiterous rebelles, if at anie time I fhould ftande in neede of your fupporte and aide, as I, for my parte, fhould do the like to you when occafion ferwed, to the uttermoft of my power : and I call God to witnes that you, for your parte, then promefed faithfullie, fo farre to conforte and fuccour me then, (beinge in my owen kingdome able to hawe defended my felff againft you, and all my ennemies whatfoewer, retiringe me to my ftronge caftles till my loiale fubiectes, neare kinniffolkes, friendes and allies had ower throwen all my aduerfaries,) if I wolde make my refuge to you, you wolde come fo farre as the frontiers of the bordoures betuine our kingedomes to affift me, and this you made me believe, as diwerfe gentlemen and meffingers did affure me of the fame. This promefe proceeded from your owen mouth, and often reiterated, (albeit by your ferwantes I had founde my felff often abufed,) made me take fuch affurance and affiance in the effect theroff, that the troupes of my campe and gwarde which I retained for my faiftie, beinge owerthrowne by my ennemies, fecretlie fuborned besides my knowledge by you, I came directlie to cafte my felff in your armes, if I could hawe approached you fo neare. But

purposinge to come and finde you out, beholde I am in the midde waie arreifted, inwironed with a guarde, (befides your promefe and my expectatioun), to watche me, and fhutte vp in a ftronge houle, and in the end, without all fhame and regarde had of my Soweraigntie, broughte into this captiuitie, which is more bitter then a thoufande deathes vnto me, in regarde it is impofed vpon me by her who promefed fuch kinde dealinge on her parte. I knowe you will alledge againft me, that which paffe betuine me and the late Duke of Norfolke, nowe deade. I mantaine it vpon my confcience and honour, that there was no mater to your preiudice, nor againft the commone goode of this realme; and that this treatie was founde goode, and approwed by the adwife and feales of the cheiffe and principall that wer for the time of your counsell, with affurance to perfwade and make you finde it goode. Howe coulde fuch perfonages, without your adwife, enterprife to make you consent, which might hawe depriued you of your liffe, honour and croune, as you make faire you ar certainlie perfwaded theroff to all ambaffadoures, and others that fpeake of me to you.

This notwithstandinge my rebelles perceiwinge that ther headeftronge courfe caried them forder then they thought it wold hawe done, and that the truth appearinge of the forgerie, that they had ewerie waie fpred abroade of me, by conference I fubmitted my felff vnto a full affemblye of your deputies and mine, to cleare my felff openlie in this cuntrie, but beholde the cheiffe of them retiringe him felff into the Caftle of Edinburgh, to fauwe him felff from the rebelles, by your forces was befeiged, and one of the principall poisoned of your procurement, and an other moft cruellie hanged, after that I, the feconde time, had commaunded them to laie awaie there vapors and armes at your request in hope of peace, which God knoweth whether my ennemies ewer meant. I was willinge to make triale whether pacience coulde mend the rigour and euil entreate, begunne after they had thus fourtene yeares ufed me,

and accommodatunge my selff to the ordour which was prescribed me for my captiuitie in this house, asweele for the number and qualitie of seruantes, which I should reteine, giwinge leawe to others to departe. As for my diet, and ordinarie exercise for my health, I haue leiwed ewen to this present so quietlie and peaceable as one inferiour to my selff, and as one more obliged then I am to you, for this intreatie of me could not haue done so farre forth as to take awaie all shaddowe of suspition and distruste. I deprived my selff of all meanes to enquire to haue anie intelligence of my sonne and of my cuntrie, that which by no righte nor reason could be denied me; and cheiflie of my childe, who in steade heiroff was lauboured by all meanes to be made against me, to the end that by our diuision we might be boith waikned.

It was graunted me, (saie you,) about thrie yeares ago, to send to visite him in his captiuitie then at Sterlinge, vnder the tyrannie of Morton, was the cause, as his libertie after hath beene the cause that the like visitatioun was denied me. The yeare last paste, I did diuers times enter into diuerse overtures for the establisshinge of a goode amitie betuine us, and for certane intelligence betuine those two realmes heirafter. It is about ten yeares since Commissioners wer sent vnto me to Chattiforde to that effect. Then was a treatie made with your selff by the French and my owen Ambassadouris: yea, my selff made the last winter all the most advantagous overtours with Beale that was possible for me to do. What haue I gotte therbye? My good meaninge is scorned, the synceritie of my cariage lightlie respected and misconstrued, the estate of my afaires encombred with delaies, surmises and such other cunnings; and to conclude, worfe dealinge used towards me ewerie daie then other, notwithstandinge anie thinge that I force my selff and laubour to the contrarie. My ower longe, vnprofitable and my damnagable patience hawinge broughte me to that estate, that my ennemies of a custome they haue to deale euil with me, they thinke now they haue the right of pre-

scription to use me not as a prisoner, such one as by reason I can not be, but a slave, whose life and death dependeth onlie upon their tyrannie, without anie respect to the lawe of God or nationes. I can not suffer it, Madame, anie longer: I can not endure it, and must either at my death discover the authoris of my death and cruell murder, or liwinge yett still make triall vnder your protection, to make these cruelties, these false accusations and traitorous designs of my faide enemies surcease, to establish my self in some more quiet, the remainder of my life. For, to avoid your self of all pretended occasiones, and all controversies betwix us, enquire and enforme your self, if you please, of all that hath bene reported to you of my carriage, make the depositions of strangers taken in Ireland be againe renewed over: yea, let those of the Jesuites last executed be to you represented; give libertie to all that will publickly undertake to charge me, and permit me to come to my answer publickly, and if the matter go wronge with me, and my cause be bad, let me suffer for it. I shall endure patiently so long as I shall knowe the cause; but if it go weeke on my side, do not mistake it and misunderstand the matter. I shall permit my self to be badlie recompensed before God and men, and that with your greatescandale and heavey burden one daie to answer it before the righteous iudge.

The most base offenders in your prisons borne vnder your obedience, be admitted to their purgations and iustifications, and their accusers be discovered unto them, and confronted, and their accusations be opened in their presence. Why shall not therefore the same order be kept with me, a Soveraigne Queene, your nexte of kinred and lawefull heire? I thinke that this last qualitie hath bene hitherto the principall cause in regarde of my enemies, and their false accusations might make division betwix us two, they mighte weare me the more; but allace, they have nowe litle reason, and les neede to torment me yett farther for that effect, for I protest to you upon my conscience and

honour, that I haue not anie minde of anie kingdome, but of my God, the which I labour to gaine for the better ending of all my afflictionnes and aduerfities. The burden fhall fall vpon you to difcharge your confcience towards my childe, touchinge that which fhall of righte pertene vnto him after my death in that refpect, and not to permitt, in the meane-time, the continuall practifes and defignes and fecret cariages which our ennemies in this your realme dailie make for the advancement of ther furnifed pretences, labouringe on the other fide with our traiterous fubiectes in Scotland, by all the meanes they poffiblie can, to haften his ruine; wheroff I craiue no other better testimonie then the charges giuen to your laft deputies fent into Scotland, and that which the faide deputies haue there feditioufly practifed without your priuie, (as I belibe,) but with earneft and fufficient procurement of my goode neighbours in the countie of Yorke, to his preiudice to preuale. And to this purpofe, Madame, by what right can it be mantained, that I the mother of my childe fhould be whollie interdicted, not onlie to relieue his neceffitie fo urgent as it is, but alfo to haue anie notice of his eftate? who can be more carefull, regardfull, and fincere therein, then my felf? whome doith it more nearely touch and concerne? At leaft, if fendinge vnto him to provide for his fafety and preferuation, as the Counte of Shrewfburie did, on your parte, let me underftande it had pleased you to receiue therein my advice, you had interpoſed your felf both with better occaſion, and greater obligatioun on my behalfe, as I fuppoſe. Conſider weele with your felf, what you haue lefte for me to imagine, when fo fuddenlie forgetting the offences, which you pretended to be committed againſt my ſonne at that time, when I requested you we might both together fend towards him, you difpatched meſſengers to him where he was prifoner, not onlie without giuinge me notice theroff, but reſtraininge me at the ſame time of all libertie, to the intent that by no meanes I might heare anie newes of him. If the content of



them, who managed in your regarde so redelie this visitation, was for his preferwatioun and fetling of his peace, they should not hawe beene so carefull to hawe keepte it from me, as a thing wherein I wold not hawe concurred with them, and to hawe made you loose the thanks which I should hawe beene indebted to you therfore. And to speake plainelie therin to you, I praie you use no more such meanes nor persons, for albeit I holde my L. Carie ower much regardfull of the place, he cometh of for to engage his honour in anie willanous action, he hath yeet an assistant sworne of the house and faction of Huntingtoun, by whose euil offices such an euil action could not but issue to the like effect. It shall then onlie suffice me, that you suffer not my sonne by this peace to receiue anie damage, which is all that I ewer heirtofore requested at your handes ; yea, ewen then when an armie was sent vpon the frontiers to hinder the proceedinge of iustice of that detestable traitour Morton, and that none of youres heirafter medle with the affaires of Scotlande, if it be not with my knowledge, to whome all the knowledge theroff of righte doeth belonge, or with the assistance of some one of the parte of the Christian king of Fraunce, my goode brother, to whome, as our principall kinnisman, I desire to imparte all thinges in this cause, for the litle credite he maie hawe with the traitours which deteine my sonne for the present. This, notwithstandinge, I do openlie declare vnto you, that I holde this last conspiracie and innovatioun, for a mere treason against the liffe of my sonne, the goode of his affaires, and the goode of peace ; and that so longe he is in the state he is in, (as it is giwen me to understande,) I will make no esteeme of woorde, writinge, or anie other acte that commeth from him, or passeth vnder his name, as proceedinge from his frie and naturall dispositioun, but onlie from the faide conspiratouris, which, by takinge of his liffe into ther hand, use him as a maske for them selwes and ther affaires.

But all this libertie of speech, Madame, maie in some parte dis-

please you; yeet it is the werie truth it self: You will holde it, I assure me, werie straunge that I proceede yeet to importune you with a request of greate importance, and yeet werie easie for you to graunte and effectuate, that is, that not hawinge had hitherto anie power in accommodatunge my selff pacientlie so longe time to the rigorous entreatie of this longsome captiuitie, and bearing my selff syncearlie in all thinges, yea, ewen to the leaste that concerned you litle, to gett me therbye some assurance of your fawour, and to showe you therefore some parte of my entire affection, I praie and desire you, for the honour and dolorous passion of our Sauour Jesus Christe, to permitt me to retire some where without this realme to some place of repose, to seeke some release and conforte for my poor languishing bodie so waxed with continuall sorrowe, and with libertie of conscience to prepare my soule to God.

Beluwe me, Madame, the physitions, which you sent to me this last somer, mighte weeke enough enformed you, that I haue beene broughte thorowe longe greiffe so lowe that I can not liue longe, so that ther can be no fundatioun or jelosie or mistruste on my parte, which, notwithstandinge, take on my parte and behalff such assurances, iuste and reasonable conditiones, as you will. The greater force resteth still on your parte to make me keepe them, albeit I will not for anie thinge breake them. You haue had sufficient experience of the obseruation of my simple promeses, and sometime to my owen preiudice, as I haue showed you often: For two yeares ago, remember your selff in the same werie subiect, I wrete then vnto you howe, by no meanes so much as by sweetnes and gentlenes, you coulde binde my hearte vnto you, albeit you imprefoned my poore feeble bodie within foure walles, these of my degrie and nature beinge not to be forced, or gained by force, constrainte and rigoure. Let the greate God judge all. Your person, against your promise so often made and renewed to me, hathe, without all right or iuste fundatioun, destroyed my bodie, of which shortlie you shall haue an

end, if it continewe there yeet anie longer, and my ennemies shall not hawe much more time to satisfie ther crueltie vpon me. There resteth nothings but my soule, which is not in your power to captiuate. Giue it, then, a litle more roome to take more frielie the breath of her saluatioun, which shee onlie seeketh after at this daie more then anie greatnes of the world.

It seemeth vnto me it should be vnto you a greate and large satisfaction, honour and adwantage, that my deadlie and spitefull ennemies treade my liffe vnder ther feete, ewen till they stifle me before you; in steade wheroff, if in this extremitie you nowe werie late leiue me betuine ther handes, yeet, goode Madame, abridge ther crueltie and giue some release, boith to my soule and bodie, and so shall you greatlie oblige me vnto you, and all these which aperteine vnto me, but speciallie my poore childe; touchinge whome by that meanes you maie perhappes assure your selff, I will not cease to importune you incessantlie in this request vntill you agrie vnto me, and therfore I desire you to make me knowe your intention, hawing attended for to please these two yeares by past vntill this present, to renewe the instance of my request, wherunto the miserable estate of my health doeth presse me more then you can thinke or imagine. In the meane time, provide, if it please you, that I maie be better entreated; for it lieth in my power, and remitt me not to anie others discretion whofoewer more then your selff, of whome onlie, (as I last wrete vnto you,) I will holde all the goode or the euil which I shall in your cuntrie receiue, because of your promise. Do me this fawour that I maie understande your owen intention, by wretinge to the ambassadour of Fraunce for me. For to settle my selff vpon that which the Counte of Shreuisburie or others shall saie or wrete on your behalffe, I hawe experience enoughe that it can not be sufficient enoughe for me, the least subiect they shall dewise or imagine, to innovate all from the daie past till the morrowe followinge.

Besides this, the last time that I wrote to those of your counsell, you giue me to understand that I should not deale with them, but with you allone, and so farre forth to extend ther credit and authoritie to do me euil and mischieffe, as it hapned, in this my last restraint, wer contrarie to your meaninge. I haue beene werie unworthelie entreated, that giweth me occasion to doubt, that some of my ennemies in your said counsell haue procured expresse, that others of your counsell wer not partakers of my iuste complaint, seeinge not, perhappes, ther companions cliue to ther wicked attemptes against my liffe: either hawing knowledge theroff they wold, for your honour, haue opposed them selues against them.

Two thinges haue I finallie and chieffie to request: the one, that as I am neare to depaite out of this world, I maie haue neare vnto me some honourable man of the church, to the end he maie dailie put me in remembrance of the iorneie I haue, and to instruct me howe to do according to the truth of Gods woorde, according to the direction wheroff, I am fullie resolued to liue and die. This is the last duetie which to the most miserable catiffe that breatheth can not be denied; and this a libertie which you giue all strange and forren ambassadoures, as all other Catholike princes giue to yours exercise of ther religion. And I my self haue neuer forced my subiectes to anie thinge contrarie to the profession of ther religion, albeit I had all power and authoritie ower them. I beinge in this extremitie of the libertie you giue others of meaner qualitie and degrie, I praie you, can you iustlie do it? did you ewer haue anie care to cause me be instructed otherwise? What aduantage will you gett by denyinge me? I hope God him self will excuse me beinge oppressed in this sorte by you. If I offend in woordshiueinge him outwardlie as I wold, when as I haue no libertie to do it so, if in secretlie I do it in my heart, as he hath appointed me, you shall giue a most badde example to other Christian princes, to use against ther owen

subiectes, the same rigour which you use against me, a Soveraigne Queene, and the nearest kinnifwoman you have in the earth, and shalbe while I live, in despite of all my enemies whatsoever they be.

I will not importune you now, for the advancement of my house, for the short time I have now to live. I demaunde then onlie of you two chambermaides, to helpe me duringe my sicknes, protestinge unto you before God that I have verie greate neede of them. ' Albeit I wer a poore creature of the meanest sorte, and not a Soveraigne Queene and nearest kinnifwoman, nature, humane curtesie might make procure you to afforde me this much unto me. Graunte me this for the honoure of God, for whome you and I as his anointed gowerne for him heire belowe. And let it [be] seene that my enemies have not so much credit with you against me, as to exercise ther vengeance and crueltie in a matter of so litle consequence, and dependinge vpon a simple office of humanitie.

I will come now to that wherewith the Counte of Shreuisburie hath charged me, if such a one as he maie charge me, that contrarie to my promise made to Beale, and with out your privetie, I have negotiated with my sonne, to yeelde to him the title of my croune of Scotland, hawinge bounde my selff not to proceede in it but by your adwise; and that when I should thinke goode to do this, I should send one of my servantes with one from you, to be ruled and directed in this busines by one of youre servantes. These be, (as I take it,) the Countes owen wordes. I have tolde you heire before, madame, that Beale had newer anie absolute promise of me overtures, touching which I coulde not in anie sorte be bounde, without the foiregoinge performance of the conditions which I had opposed; to the which he was so farre from beinge satisfied, that I had, on the contrarie parte, not so much as anie aunswere, nor of his parte harde him mention anie thinge theranent. And in this regarde, I weeke remember, that the Counte of Shreuisburie, desirous to

drawe from me newe confirmation of that which I had saide to Beale, I replied to him werie plainelie, that it was in cace the saide conditions had beene accorded on and performed vnto me. Boith the one and the other be yeet liwinge to testifie it vnto you, if the will speake the truth.

Since that time, perceiwinge no aunswere giwen me theroff, but on the contrarie by the delaies and furmises of my ennemies, continewed more licentiouslie then ewer, ther practises builded vpon the soiourninge of Beale so neare vnto me, to crosse my iuste intentionis in Scotland, as the effectes hawe weeel witnessed, that by this meanes the gate laie open to the ruine of my sonne, I tooke your silence as a refuse, and discharged my selff by expresse letters, asweele to you as to your counsell, of all that which I had treated with the said Beale. I made you priwie vnto that which the Kinge and the Queene wrote vnto me with ther owen handes, concerninge these afaires, and required theroff your adwise, which is yeet to come: with the which my intention, in werie truth, I was to proceede if you had giwen me your adwise in time, and if you had suffered me to send vnto my sonne assistinge me in the overtures, which I had proposed to you to establishe betuine these two realmes, a lowinge amitie and perfite intelligence for the time to come. But to binde my selff nakedlie to followe your adwise before I knewe what it mighte be, and to submit for the woiage of our people, mine to the discretion of yours, and that in my owen cuntrie, I was newer so simple as to thinke it. Nowe I remitt to your confideratioun, if you wer priwie to it, the false place which my ennemies heire hawe plaid in Scotland, to bring maters to the passe they be at, whether of us hawe more vprightlie and synceirlie proceeded, God be iudge betuine you and me and them. Beholde yeet againe the aduertisementes which my traiterous subiectes of Scotland might hawe giwen you, you shall finde it, and I will mantaine it before all Christian princes, that there is no passed on

my parte anie thinge to your preiudice, nor against the goode and quiet of this realme, which I affect no lesse then anie counsellour or subiect; knowinge that one daie it will either come to me or mine after me. It was spoken to gratifie my sonne with the name and title of a kinge, and to assure him of the saide title, as also the rebelles of all impunitie of ther offences past, and to sett all thinges in rest and quiet heirafter, without innovatioun of anie thinge. Was this to take the croune from my sonne? My ennemies, and you in speciall, (as I thinke,) wold not have him sure theroff; and therefore be werie weele content that he holde it, by unlauffull meanes of some traiterous ennemies, of all antiquitie of all our race to roote it out, or elles to conweie the croune from me and him to them, who neither by the lawe of God nor man have anie righte, whether they strangers be by birth, or home borne traitouris. Was this to seeke iustice for the past offences of the saide traitouris, whome newer anie clemencie could gaine or winne? But an euil conscience can neuer be in quiete, bearinge ewer about with her her owen tormenter. Was this to alter the quiet of the cuntrie, or to procure it by defacinge all thinges paste, and establisshing a generall reconciliatioun amongst all subiectes?

Is it that which our ennemies heire feare so much, which they make shewe they desire? what preiudice was there in this done vnto you? Marke it then, and make it be iustified, if you please, or can, in anie other thinge, I will aunswere it publictly vpon my honour: Allace, Madame, will you suffer your self to be so much blinded by the cunninge of my ennemies, as to establissh after you, and perhappes against your self lewinge and seeing them there iniust pretentions to this croune? Will you suffer it, beinge yeet aliue, to ruinate and make so cruellie perishe those who touch you so neare in harte and bloode? This can neuer [be] honourable nor goode vnto you, that by ther meanes, I and my childe should be so longe seperated, and wee boith from you, and our crounes

from us all. Take againe the olde arles, earnest of pledge of your lowe and kindnes, and bind yours to your selff, that seeinge all thinges is pardoned betuine us, as on my pairte I call the feare and searcher of all hearts to witnes, they be frielie forgiwen, giue me this contented ioye, that I be no more trubled by my ennemies, or in my conscience, that my soule deliwered from this bodie be not forced to fend foorth the fighes to God, for the iniuries you hawe [made] to be done to me here belowe, but on the contrarie, departinge in peace with you out of this captiuitie, I maie go out of this bondage chearfullie to my God, whome I praie to mowe your hearte to giue eare to my most iuste complaints and greiuances. Sheiffelde, 18. November 1582.

Your most defolate, nearest and affectionat cofinge and fiftter,

M. R.

Beholde goode declarations; beholde most apparent iustificatiounes; beholde offerres full of submiffion; beholde praiers and requestes that might mowe an hearte more harde then flinte, if not adamantine! But to what end and purpose! Elizabeth difsembleth as shee was wont, and maketh as if shee knewe them not; and in steade of mitigatinge her cruell afflictionnes, shee becommeth more austere and rigorous then before. Shee wold putt her to an dishonourable death, but shee can not bringe it to passe as shee wold: shee sent an Englishe cooke for her mouth to poison her, but it was discowerd by her faithfull serwantes. It could not likewise be executed by Walsingham his procurement, because his copartners, who with him commaunded it, saide it was no thinge to kill the Queene prisoner, if the sonne wer lefte aliue, or if ther wer not some apparent pretexte and specious shewe, to take awaie the title of the crowne of Englande from the sonne asweele as from the mother. I should be too tedious, if I should recount the hundreth parte of the indignities that was done to this Ladie, duringe the time of her emprisonment. Did they



not caufe, in fpite of her, hange a papift freight foirgainft her ludginge windoes, therby giwinge her to underftand that the fame death did abide her ; and they had indeede accomplished ther defignes, if fome of the wifer foirte had not by manie forcible ftronge reaſons withftoode the diſhonourable purpoſe. Laſtly, it is concluded to butcher her, and to fhaddowe the ſame with ſome culloure of iuſte wengeance, and finde ſome crime to giue a pretexte to ther tyrannicall proceedings, and to perſwade idiottes, if anie wer ſo groſſe or ſenſles in the world, that they followed the courſe of iuſtice, all ſtomocke ſett aparte, and all former malice laide awaie, and all affections contrarie to right and reaſon being buried, they deſired no thinge ſo much as the ſaiftie of Gods true woorthipe and religion and of ther Queene ; and for this intent a Parliament was called 23 of November, and a ordinance made in it in 27 yeare of Elizabethes raigne, it fittinge vntil the 29 of March nexte after. In the firſt fittinge theroff, a queſtion was diſpatched with this title, “ An Acte for proviſion to be made for the ſuretie of the Queenes Maieſties moſt roiale perſon, and the continuance of realmes peace.”

To ſhowe the exquiſit and affected meanes they hawe to cullour ther defignes to maſſacre cruellie this innocent ladie, heirafter folloueth ther maſke to effect the ſame, ther Acte of Parliament :—

“ Becauſe the confort and greate felicitie of the whole ſtate of this realme conſiſteth, nexte after God, in the preſeruatiſon and ſaiftie of the moſt excellent maieſtie of the Queene ; and it appearinge manifefſtly vnto us, that manie complottes and cariages, not longe ſince, hawe beene prepared and enterpriſed, aſweele beyonde ſea in ſtrange and forren cuntries as within this realme, to the greate danger and preiudice of the moſt roiale perſon of her Heighnes, to extreame ruine of the comoune wealth, if in the mercie of God the thinge had not beene rewealed for this cauſe ; and to prewent the greate perrile which by this meanes might otherwiſe encrease heireafter, by the meanes of ſuch deteftable and

dewilishe practises, at the humble suite and service, petition and request, of our Lordis spirituall and temporal, and the thrie estates of this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the saide Parliament, let ther be made an Acte inregistred, that if it happen after this present Session of Parliament ther be made anie open invasion or rebellion, or prepared within anie of the realmes or dominions of her Maiestie, or if anie thinge be attempted to the detriment of the most roiale person, by or in fawour of anie person that wold or could pretend anie righte or title to the croune of this kingdome after the decease of her Maiestie; if ther be made anie proiecte or dewise to the preiudice of her roiale person by anie pretendinge such righte, or with his consent or knouledge, or priuie of the facts, that then by the commission of her Maiestie vnder her greate seale, the Lordis, and other of the priuie councill, and such other Lordis as hawe voice in Parliament, as it shall please her Maiestie to name, makinge together with them of the councill the number of 24 at the least, assisted with some of the iudges of the courte of record at Westminster, such as it shall please her Maiestie to appoint and ordaine in that regairde; where the greater pairte of the saide councill, Lordis and iudges, shall hawe power and authoritie, be wertue of this ordinance, to examine all and singular such offences foirsaide, and all the circumstances theroff, and to giue iudgement of them, and sentence vpon them, as they shall see by goode proves the cace required: and after such sentence and iudgement giwen, and declaratioun of it made and published, by letters of her Maiestie vnder the greate seale of England, all such persons, against whome such sentence and iudgement hath beene given in maner foirsaide, shalbe excluded, be disabled, and made incapable for ewer to hawe, demaunde, or pretend anie righte to the croune of this realme, or anie of the dominions of her Maiestie, notwithstandinge all precedent, lawes, or statutes to the contrarie; and in wertue of this ordinance and commission of her Maiestie

therupon, all the subiectes maie iustlie, by all meanes possible, be it by waie of facte or otherwise, persue to death such peruerse and mischeiuous persons, by whome, or by whose meanes, consent or priuities, anie such invasion, attempt, or rebellion, in the forme afoirsaid, shalbe deemed to be done, or hath attempted, procured, or imagined anie such acte against the said person of her Maiestie, in like soorte, all ther aduersers, fauourers, adherentes, or complices: And if anie like acte come to be executed against her most roiale person, by the which the liffe of her Maiestie shalbe taken awaie, (from the which God of his greate mercie preserue her,) then all persons by or for whome such an acte shalbe executed, and ther heires, participant in anie maner, consenting, or hawinge anie knowledge and intelligence of such a foule facte, shall, by wertue of this ordinance, be excluded, and be made vnable to enioye, pretend to, or demandaund, the croune of this realme, or anie other of the dominions of her Heighnes, notwithstandinge all precedent, lawes and statutes whatsoeuer to the contrarie."

See heire the werie groundes and fundatiounes of ther proceedinges against the Queene of Scottes. Shee is noted to be the wicked person, by this ordinance of the states of England, as if shee had been alreadie guiltie of rebellion, and all, &c. It is against her liffe dewised, and shee is noted to be the onlie instrument of all this mischeiffe, to defraude her and her offspringe and posteritie of the croune they had a iust righte vnto. Doctour Wilson wold reporte the newes, if he wer aliue, to be confronted to Doctour Windem, whome they esteemed not without cause the best lawer in England: he wold maintaine it to ther faces, that after the death of the Duke of Norfolke, this Wilson, then ther Maister of Requestes, was sent vnto him by those of the counsell to knowe of him, if there wer anie municipall lawe vpon which they might haue anie grounde to putt to death the Queene of Scottes, and to make anie

formall proceſſe againſt her ; who aunſwered them that ther was none ; ſo that his aunſwere was directlie oppoſite and contrarie to ther diſſoiale, perwerſe and tyrannous dewiliſhe intentiones.

At this time, the L. of Cauaignes frenchman, ſince executed for heigh treaſon at Paris, was negotiatinge in England, I knowe not whie, if not for that amongeſt other buſines he followed the death of the Queene of Scottes, as an agent for the French that wer her enemies. His cauſſes and meanes wer the werie ſame, comprifed in the ſlanderous and infamous libell made and publiſhed priuée, from hand to hand, and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth, vnder the title and inſcription of the Morninge Watche.

The Engliſhe, thus informed that the lawes and precepts of iuſtice did not yeelde ther protection and aſſent to them to effect ther cruell, and more then Scythian deſignes, without forder delaie, reſpectinge no forder formalitie of lawe, diſpatches a poſt with all poſſible ſpeede to the Earle of Shreuſburie, Erle Marshall of England, cheiffe iuſtice in criminall cauſſes, charginge and commaunding him, all delaies ſett aſide, vpon the receipt of the letters, to cauſe the heade of the empreſoned Queene to be cutte off from her ſhoulders. This poſte beinge diſpatched with all diligence, Megara could not ſleepe, but ſeekinge out ane other Megara in foule, which ſtrangelie tormented, the cruell decree is repented of. They knowe what ordour to take ; the Queene ſendeth for Leiceſter, her greate minion, whoſe adwiſe muſt be had for a iuſte lawe in all this greate buſines, whome Sir Walter Mildmaie, one of his moſt familiars, muſt needes adwiſe ; (for of him ſelfe he was ſo addicted to Elizabeth, if ſhee wold go to hell, he muſt needes keepe her companie,) who declared to him the greate offence to God and man, the greate diſhonour ſhould be impute to ther miſtres, the ſhame ariſinge to the councell, the imminent danger of the Queenes perſon, the vndoinge of the whole realme, if the reſolution of the death

of the Queene of Scottes wer executed, without all pretence of lawe, righte or reason, or anie apparent showe of iustice: that such crueltie could not be excused by no showe whatsoewer, and that all Christian kinges and potentates should be constrained vpon ther honoures to take rewenge theroff; that the example should be of a most dangerous consequent, that the like case might befall ther mistres, if in the mutinie of her people shee should flie into Scotland or Fraunce, or anie other cuntrie for refuge, as this ladie fled into England, and that vnder cullour of promeses made to her, and assurances giwen on the part of the Queene, her nexte kinne, and hawinge laid her liffe as a thinge of truste in her handes, and all her whole estate.

Leicester, vpon the examinatioun of these speeches, perceiwinge his honour much more interested (in regarde of his familiaritie with his mistres,) then anie mans elles, he beinge speciall in her councell, rose vp quicklie out of his bed, goeth redelie to his mistres bed chamber, (whether often he was wont to go for les necessarie busines,) in his nighte goun, all alone, he telleth her all the foirsaide inconweniences by such a bloodie tragedie, if such a cruell commandement and decree wer executed. He had no sooner opned his mouth to utter these thinges, but shee prayes him to giue ordour to staie the ordinance alredie giwen. Therefore, instantlie ther was an other gentleman, Mr George, to call bake the first poste, dispatched in all haiste to giue likewise a contrarie command to the Earle of Shreuifburie to staie the murder of the goode innocent Queene. There be some that reporte the whole mater otherwise, that the Ladie Stafforde, a ladie of honour of Elizabethes chamber, beinge in her bed, cried out in her dreame in a loude and fearfull noyes, that shee wakned her mistres the Queene, who demaunded her the cause of fearfull shoutinge and outcrie; and after shee had wakned her out of her dreame with much ado, at length shee answered, shee sawe the Queene of Scottes heade cutte of, then

her mistres heade also. The Queene then tolde here the like vision in her sleepe had trubled her selff, wherwith shee was much affrighted; and that that was the cause shee had so suddenie [altered] this determination of puttinge her cufinge to death. But be it so, or howsoever it was, I see no inconuenience, whie both those mighte be the causes of the sudden alteratioun of the cruell decree. The last poste made such haifte that he arriued almost at the same time with the first that went before him with the foirsaide decree for execution to the Earle, as saide is. But the last caried better newes, straitlie commandinge him to keepe his prisoner, and tellinge him by wrate from the Queene, that althought her cufinge had deserwinge for attemptinge to marie with the Duke of Norffolke without her knowledge, to the greates hinderance of the Gospell, and furtherance of poperie, (which I my selff do more tolerate, shee mighte as trulie hawe saide, in that I suffer recusancie in my dominions for a litle monie to be brought to my coffers): these thinges, I saie, considered arighte, I might iustlie ride her out the waie; yeet I pardon her with all my heart, and giue her liffe, not dealing with her as shee deserwes, but accordinge to my clemencie.

To whose cruell and iniuste accusatiounes the Queene, (after shee had red Elizabethes letter to Shreuifburie, aunswered, and his declaration of the contentes of it,) fullie reported in Elizabethes proiectes shee intended, therby fullie vnderstoode of her Maiestie, shee replied, shee neuer attempted anie thinge against the honour of a Queene, nor her cufinge in speciall, (as knoweth God,) shee neuer had anie intelligence with strangers or ennemies to conspire with them against her and her kingdome, and that God one daie wold be a iuste judge betuine them, and shoue whether shee wer guiltie of these thinges shee fallie charged her, which wer in deede alledged, forged and dewised accusatiounes to bereiue her of her liffe, wherthrowe shee might the better execut her longe concealed proiect, which was to hinder her and her sonne the

right of the kingdome, which shee had, against all right and reason, usurped, and of the which her owen father disabled her by the advice of the whole parliament. Marke heire an Acte of Parliament made by her and her counsell, by the which they that designe or imagine in ther mindes anie thinge in the person or estate of the Queene of England, and they that giue aide, confort, or fawoure to those in fawoure of whome, as pretending right to the croune, such thinges is attempted, designed or imagined, as declared criminalles, vnable and vnwoorthie of such rightes; and it is permitted to all the subiectis of England, to kill and pursue them to death, asweele by waie of fact as by iustice. A few monethes after, they founde in ther heades and imaginatiounes, full of treason and crueltie, that it is the Queene of Scottes that had not onlie imagined and proiected, but also attempted against ther mistres; and therupon, without anie forme of iustice, without gatheringe or confronting anie testimonies, (as is required in proceffe against the basest offendouris in the world), they cast her doune from her roiale estate, and make her be assassinated by the hand of cruell butcher. But to saie the truth, they know weele in ther mindes, replenished with abominatioun and all iniquitie, that the onlie cause of her murder was, because shee wold neuer giue ower the iuste title God gawe her, and those that were to come of her; wherein they followed the morninge watches resolution, wherein the authour of that booke holdeth it a iuste cause, and most necessarie to put the Queene of Scottes to death, because shee was popishe, and gaiwe annuities and pensions to papistes. Whie did he not thinke it as necessarie to put Elizabeth also to death, who manie a time since shee usurped the roiale authoritie, hard the idolatrous masse, and neuer, to her dyinge daie, did remowe the ceremonies of the masse, (which the morninge watche doeth condemne as dewilishe), out of the church of England, yea, suffered openlie in publick place manie most abominable papistickall opinions to be taught, held

and maintained, together with heresies also arising from thence to be broched abroad; it is needfull heire to sett them doune, they be freshe as yeet in mennes mindes. The other causes why Elizabeth putt her cusinge to death, alledged by her ennemies, specified in ther false judgement giwen against her Maiestie, haue onlie a culloure to shadow ther tyrannie to make other princes not to disdaine them and their crueltie, nor to handle them and ther mistres as they had done this noble Queene. When they made ther Act of Parliament, they knewe weeke she muste needes conspire with Antonie Babington, against the state and life of Elizabeth; they had so goode agentes boith at home and abroad, that this conspiracie could fall out no otherwise, but with ther goode likinge must needes endanger the Queene of Scottes life, and her iuste title shee had to the crowne of England, which thinge you maie see by the dewilish complot it self. Ther was one Gifforde an Englishman borne, who from his werie infancie had beene trained up in the seminaries at Roome and Rhemes, and for the space of two yeares was he delte with by Walsingham his agentes, who was Elizabethes secretarie, a spitefull ennemie to her cusinge. This goodlie companion Gifforde, leawing his profession, maketh diuers iorneyes and woiages to Paris, and goeth ower in England, he not being at all in anie thinge molested, notwithstanding the strict searce and inquirie was made vpon all that came thither from beyond sea, yea and albeit he shewe him self outwardlie a professed papist. This libertie this fellowe had, made boith papistes and protestantes thinke diuerslie of him. But to take all suspition of treacherous dealinge with the councell of England out of his brethrens harte, he past fourth batcheler of divinitie, and tooke holie orders vpon him, and was made preist at Rhemes. Since which time, men began to be werie suspicious of him, seeinge him often to retire him self into England at his plesour, without anie molestatioun or truble. Papistes dubted the more of him, because his onlie meanes to liue on was by allowance he had



in his ordour. Nowe he did liue in greate plentie of all thinges, hawinge of the Seminaries, wherupon heirtofore the greate pairte of all his meanes depended no thinge. But such was the wickednes of the licentious liwer, he could not cower his wicked liffe, nor hidde anie longer in plotting his treacheries; for at length, they fpying his cariage and scandalous liffe, committed him to preson in the officialitie of Paris, where was found about him manie letters written with the ioice of an onion, and allonie with cyfers and diuerse other papers, diuers memorandumes and instructiouns, by the which one parte of his negotiatioun was discowered, and amongest other thinges, howe he did certifie one Thomas Phillippes, Wallinghames agent, of all whatsoeuer the catholiques did.

To the effect this their designe, and to do them an office woorthie of memorie, mighte the better be brought to passe, he drewe him selff to the companie of one Thomas Morgan, a gentleman much addicted to the Queene of Scottes, to whome he insinuated his ardent zeale to do the faide Ladie service, and that he knewe a greate manie Catholiques in England to be dewoted to her Maiestie, and that he had goode meanes to procure her deliwerie, and that ther was that negotiated in those partes for her, and that he had him selff for his owen parte, if he coulede be furnished with monie, wold deale in this busines, and direct Maister Morgan to hawe secrete intelligence with those that had the doinge of this busines in hand. He offered him selff two or thrie times to the Bishope of Glascoue, her Maiesties Ambassadour, who returned him bake, not giwinge him anie countenance, or communicange anie thinge with him in a mater of weight or consequence, from whome he retired him selff backe againe to Morgan, and by importune sute made to him, he obtaines letter, boith from him and others, to Antonie Babington, and some other gentlemen of his owen profession, whome Leicester had borne no will to a longe time, and coulede hawe founde in his heart to hawe had longe

ago ride out of the waie for his owen particulars. So loone as he came in Englande, freighte goeth he with the letters to Walsingham, and after ar deliwered accordinge to ther superscription. They laubour the mater so secretlie and craftelie, that they gett letters from the Queene that was presoner, or from her secretarie, which wer taken and then copied out by Sir Amias Paulet, her graces gaoler, who sendeth them freight waie to Babington, and receiweth his aunswere. These thinges thus handled ar communicated to Walsingham, and by him be againe reported to the councell.

The watch woorde is giuen to Gifforde that he should shifte for him selff, and to go into Fraunce to mantaine ther woonted and accustomed service, without anie feare of anie sentence of prescription or banishment to passe against him, or if it did hapen to be giuen, it was but for a cullour, it should not turne to his preiudice, it should serue for a maske to hid his designes, and the better to plaie his parte without all suspition of mistruste heirafter.

This kinde of proceedinge is not to be thought strange in Walsingham; theese be his ordinarie practises: He was so impudent to send a companion to Rome with false letters and seales, to take vpon him the person of the bastarde brother to the kinge of Scottes, to discower the intelligences the mother might hawe with the Pope, or that which might further her deliwerie; but he was but a counterfeit, for the faide kinge had newer anie base brother, as it is weeke knowen. So this cufoninge mate was committed to preson in the castle of St Angelo, and after put into the inquisition, from whence he escaped, by what meanes I knowe not; but after beinge founde at Paris, and committed to preson in the litle castle, he died poorlie and miserablie ther, deliweringe him selff from the due punishment his treacherous attemptes did deserue, notwithstandinge the faire promeses of Elizabeth, and the often visitatiounes of her ambassadours. There was manie such like agentes

for Elizabeth at Roome and Spaine discowered, and receiued ther due punishment.

But to returne to Gifforde. After he had dispatched his negotiation with Wallshinghames goode likinge, the letters of Morgan, Babington and others, wer wieud and confidered by the councell, and Sir Amias Paulet was directed thus, that he should leade his prefoner foorth to disporte her selfe at the huntinge. But shee was no sooner come into the feildes, then ther arriued ther vpon a sudden Mr George and Mr Wade, with a greate troupe of horsemen, who seased vpon the bodies of her two secretaries, Melvin the maister of her housholde, her pursbearer, and other serwantes, sequestringe them one from an other, not sufferinge them to speake betuine them selwes, nor with ther mistres, threatninge them if they did, they wold streight without delaie stabbe them: they dispatch and dewide ther prefoners to diuers places and keepers. As for her Maiestie, Paulet, by direction from the courte, as was foreseene, caused her to be led by a stronge garrison to a gentlemans house near bye, where shee was kept without anie retinewe the space of eight daies, duringe the which time he caused her closett to be broken open: he tooke awaie all the keyes of her coffers and trunckes, and of all serwantes trunckes: he tooke all her coine in golde, silwer, her Jewelles, ringes, and precious attire: her bookes, memorandumes, instructiouns, ciphers, and all her papers. After these indignities offered her, he caused her to be broughte by a stronge garrison of armed men to Chartlie; and from thence, leadinge her from house to house with manie reproches, without anie respect to the hienes of her person and honour, shee is brought to Foderinghaie, the intended butcherhouse where they had apointed to assassinate her roiale person: a slaughterhouse it is to be named, rather then a palace fitte for the habitation of such a Queene as shee was.

This rude, cruell willaine Paulet was apointed a Cerberus to keep

her, in regarde they could hardlie finde fuch an other woide of all humanitie and mercie, except it wer traitour Walsingham. He was also commanded to empoyse her, if he could effect it secretlie, and if he perceiued anie noyse or sturre in her house, or about her lodgings, he was charged vpon his allegiance to kille her, not lookinge for anie further authoritie; for ther Act of Parliament was a sufficient warrant to him in that behalfe. And to this intent did this miserable goutie catiue, (seeinge the fire to haue taken holde of the chimneie of her chamber, thinkinge it beene done of purpose and deliberatlie, as an token giuen,) apointed foure of his gwarde to haue killed her in her owen chamber, if shee had made the least signe to shunne the danger of the fire, which giweth a stronge suspition that the fire was kindled by themselues.

They kepte her verie streightlie at Foderingaie, where shee wanted all thinges needfull for the entertainment of her roiale person; and thither wer directed, according to ther Act of Parliament, Commissioners, sent not to make her lafull proceffe, which they could not, nor ought not, but onlie to terrifie her, which they neuer wer able to do, such was her confidence in her God, and her owen innocencie, and to giue her a light audience in those thinges shee did speake, and speciallie to couloure ther designes in purposinge to putt her to death. But the Commissioners, ioninge to the contentes of the letters of ther commission, did impudentlie awouch, that shee had corrupted the subiectes of ther mistres to deliuer her selfe from captiuitie, and to haue dispossessed ther mistres of the croune and kingdome of England, and that shee had practised against her state and her liffe. The comfortles princes, doubtinge what ther intent might be, and that vpon necessitie it did seeme vnto her that ther designes, that had such longe preparatiouns, must come to some dangerous ewent and issue, shee did long insist in her delays and refusall to awoide ther proceedings, but hawinge alledged to

them perfunctorelie, and maner of acquite her qualities, and ther incompetencie and insufficiencie, denieth and excludeth vtterlie the conspiracie by them alledged, and that her secretaries had written anie thinge to her knowledge or commaundement, that might turne to the preiudice of her cufinges liffe, or hinderance of her estate, or anie wife corrupted her subiectes in ther due obedience ; which shee solemnlie did sweare and protest, continewinge therein ewen to her last breath. Weele, quod shee, if my secretaries hawe wretin or negotiated anie wife besides my knowledge that waie, that ought not to be imputed vnto me for the ower perillous consequences for the liffe, the honour, the goodes, the reputatioun and faculties of all Christian princes and greate potentates, should be exposed to the greate hazarde, if the simple wretinge of ther secretaires might binde them in anie thinge : yeet for her selff, shee did not thinke they had wretin anie thinge, either to Babington, whome shee neuer knewe nor did see with her eie, nor to anie other, for her libertie or deliverie out of her iniuste and tyrannicall captiuitie, which all the lawes of the world permitt her to seeke to attaine vnto by all meanes possible. But if for the procuringe of her libertie they had wretin, follicated, and procured anie thinge preiudiciall to her person, or the estate of the Queene her cufinge, they had gone beyonde her commiffion, commaundement and direction, and therefore ther follie and temeritie should not turne to her blame or hinderance anie waies, who had neuer agreed nor consented, nor plotted or imagined anie such thinge, assuringe her selff that neither her secretaries nor anie other wold mantaine the contrarie, if they wer brought to her presence to face it. But all her speech is needles ; all her offeres serwe to no purpose, for the Lordes, the judges, the more parte of them wer her fworne ennemies, and wer ignorant, vnlearned, not skilefull in the iudiciall afaires of a commounewealth : none such wer admitted to come to her presence ; no such man was suffered to heare her lafull iustificatiouns. For a fasson to cullour

ther wiked defignes, when sentence is giwen againft her, they ar fend for and come, but ar not suffered to heare her lafull purgatiounes and aunfwers to that which was laide againft : they will none of that, that ther cruell sentence should be rewoked, althought in the felff iniuste : with a cloffe mouth they be returned backe againe whence they came : the sentence is pronounced without examinatioun or confrontinge of anie witnes by them felwes, or the iudges of lawe best acquainted with fuch lafull proceedinges, the Secretaries, the wreteris of the plottes alledged, be newer brought to her prefence nor confronted. Shee is adiudged to die, without all ceremonies of iustice ufualle obserwed towardses the most abject perfon of all. They depart altogether as ignorant for takinge true notice of the mater, or enformed by anie witnes of the truth of the caufe wherfore they came as the childe not yeet borne.

But to difpatche the innocent ladie, and ridde her out of the waie, the sentence is diuulged ; the copie was showen to a werie fewe, and werie fewe hawe feene it, least the pronouncers should be eshamed theroff, it was so iniuste, it was so full of hidden mysteries they wold not hawe it made too commone or published. The publicatioun of the sentence, with the commillion to execut it, is sett doune heire, but the sentence can not be come bye, it was so honest.

“ ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendrice of the faith, &c. It beinge giwen vs to understand, with great apparence of the truth, to our greate sorrowe, that some litle while ago manie thinges hawe beene plotted, imagined and resolutlie appointed, tendinge directlie to the offence and destruction of our roiale perfon, and subuersion of the state of this realme, by forren invasions and domesticke rebellious, asweele by the Scottishe Queene abyding in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie other wiked persons of her intelligence, which hawe frielie confessed it, and hawe therupon, after due informatioun, been judged and executed

by the lawes, as they hawe deserwed. And albeit in truth, this hath beene to us a greate greiffe and deepe sorrowe of minde, to thinke or imagine that such vnnaturall and monstrous actiouns hawe beene voluntarlie agreed and consented vnto by her against us, that is a princes borne of our bloode, of our sexe, and one that was manie times before saiwed and preferwed in liffe and honour. This notwithstandinge, we hawe beene so directlie drauen to beliue that all is true, by wiewe and intelligence of ewident prowes, that hawe beene broughte before vs, of thinges coming and proceedinge from her, asweele as from the conspiratouris, which frielie and willinglie, without constrainte, confessed ther conspiracies coniointlie with her, and prepared against our person and realme, which we hawe goode reason to thinke should be a thinge werie dangerous to suffer to passe to ther full and inteir effect: for this cause we hawe beene by diuers of our lordes of our nobilitie and others, our lowinge and faithfull subiectes, seriousslie mowed and counselled to giue ordour without delaie, to enquire and examine all these conspiracies awerred to be manie waies, to hawe beene made indirectlie against us and our realme by the saide Queene of Scottes, and to uise all meanes that be most readie and expedient to resist, or rather to prewent them: And it greatlie displeaseth us to proceede against her, (beinge a Queene and daughter of a Kinge,) by ordinarie course and waie of our lawes of our realme, as we mighte lafullie do, as by informatioun, decree inscription, confronture of witnessses, or other like meanes; in regarde of our honour and her person, We ar adwised by the sage counsellouris giwen to proceede in the examinatioun in such a cause, after the most honourable waie that we can in this our realme dewise, accordinge to an Act of Parliament last made, the 23 of November, the 27 of our reigne: Accordinge to the which, by our commissions vnder the Greate Seale of Englande, giwen at the castle of Windfore, in the countie of Barkeshire, the fixte of

October laſt, We hawe, for this effect, aſſigned, named, and appointed, and alſo ordained, all my Lordes, and other of my priwie counsell, and ſo manie courte Barons and Lordes of the Parliament of the firſt range, and of auncienteſt nobilitie of this realme, who, with my Lordes and others of my ſaide counsell, make in number 42, ioninge with them ſome of the cheiffe and principall iudges of the courtes of recorde at Weſtminſter, making in all 47, to examine all thinges deſigned and imagined to the hurte of our roiale perſon, aſweele by the ſaide Queene, called Marie Queene of Scottes, Dourier of Fraunce, as by other of her intelligence, and all ther circumſtances, accordinge to the tenour of the ſaide [act of] Parliament, and to giue ſentence and iudgement as they ſhall ſee goode prowes the caſe requireth, as doeth appeare by the ſaide commiſſion. And the greater pairte of the ſaide counsellouris, my Lordes and iudges, named in our ſaide commiſſion, that is, the number of 36, hawe, in hearinge the ſaide Queene, at her aboade in the caſtle of Foderinghaie, at diuerſe ſittinges in publict place, moſt exactlie, iuſtlie, and with mature deliberation and adwiſe, examine all the matters and crimes wherwith ſhee was charged and accused, tendinge to the foirſade dangers mentioned in our commiſſion, and all ther circumſtances, and hawe alſo harde and underſtoode, in the moſt favourable maner that they coulde, that which the ſaide Queene could or woulde ſaie to excuſe her ſelff, and for her iuſtificationun: Vpon the which, a litle time after, that is, the 20 of October laſte paſt, all the counsell, my Lordes and iudges, hawinge heire conſidered, and vnderſtoode, and examined the ſaide cauſe in her preſence, as is afoirſaide, with one woice, aſſent and conſent, after mature deliberatioun, hawe giuen ſentence in maner and forme follouinge: That after the firſt of June in the 27 yeare of our raigne, and before the date of our commiſſion, diuers thinges hawe beene plotted and imagined in this realme of England by Antonie Babington and others, with intelligence of the



faide Marie pretendinge righte to the croune of this realme, tendinge to the detriment, death and ruine of our roiale perfon : and likewise, that after the first daie of June afoirfaide, and before the date of our commiffion, the faide Marie, pretendinge right to the croune, hath plotted and dewised within this faide realme diuers thinges to the detriment, ruine and death of our faide roiale perfon, againft the forme of the faide statute : The which sentence and iudgement the faidis Lordes and Commiffioners hawe with one accorde, cauffed to be made in writinge, and duellie ingroffed with the verball proceffe of ther maner of proceedinge, which they hawe fubfcribed with ther handes, as more amplie appeareth by the report which hath beene made to us ; and after the faide sentence and iudgement fo giwen and reported, my Lordes and other eftates in this Parliament affembled, hawe manie times in open Parliament harde and confidered the principall ewidences of the fafte, the procefles and circumftances vpon the which the faide sentence was grounded, and ther fuffrages giwen in Parliament hawe affirmed it to be a iufte, true and lafull sentence, and approwed for fuch by ther writinge to vs prefented, showinge vnto us howe they fawe doubtles the imminent and greate daunger to our perfon and realme, which might befall if this sentence were not fullie executed. And therefore, by humble fupplicatiouns, and werie ferious demaundes, with one accorde made vnto us, after they had acceffe vnto us by diuers requestes prefented vnto us, with manie reafons of greate importance, force and wertue, preffed and mowed vs to that which the faide sentence, fo iuftlie giwen by them, approwed, as it was faide it was, by us vnder our Greate Seale, by proclamatioun, declared and publifhed, and in the end executed, accordinge to the tenure of the faide Acte of Parliament.

But the faide Lordes and thrie eftates, after fo many requestes fo feriouflic by them in Parliament made, perceiwing by our woordes and aunfwers which we made, howe much it difpleafed vs to hawe fo hor-

rible and vnnaturall attemptes of this Queene foundinge in our eares, and to heare them whose precedent offences, manifestlie and dangeroullie committed against vs, our croune and realme, wer owerpasse in our clemencie, repugnant to the adwise and request of our subiectes, made asweele in Parliament as other where; and further, understandinge by vs how much we desired that by them and ther concurrence in generall, and in speciall or particular, some other meanes expedient might be found to resist such wickednes, attempted asweele against us as the publict state of this realme most quiet and peaceable, and the securitie of our goode and loiale subiectes; other, I saie, then by execution of the saide sentence, as it was meete and convenient. After manie consultations by them sewerallie made, and conferences had by them altogether in the name of all the Lordes of the Parliament, by the particular suffrages of all the assemblie, and of the thrie estates, with one generall consent representinge the whole estate of our realme, ewerie time that they had acceffe vnto us, they hawe alleged, declared, and protested, that by longe consultations and conferences, manie and diuers times by them made by our commaundement, and to content vs in that respect, they could finde no other meanes and remedie to provide for the securitie of our person, the preservatioun of them and ther posteritie, nor the continuatioun of the happie estate of our realme, without publication and due execution of the saide sentence. For this consideration, not mowed onlie with our owen greiffe and offence, but overcome with the serious requestes, the declaratiouns and reasons of our saide subiectes of greate weighte and importance, the nobilitie and estate of our realme, who, in iudgement, lowe and naturall care of vs and our realme, exceede all the rest who hawe not so much interest, and ought not so much as they be esteemed; and knowinge forder that the saide sentence hath beene honourable, lafullie and iustlie giwen, conformable to iustice and the lawes of our realme, we hawe suffered

our felwes to be broughte to ther defires, and accordinge to the faide statute, by this our proclamatioun vnder the Greate Seale of England, to declare, notifie and publishe to all our lowinge subiectes, and to all other persons whatsoewer, that the faide sentence and iudgement was giwen in forme afoirsaide, to the end that they, and ewerie of them, maie knowe it and fullie vnderstand it by this our proclamatioun, which we will hawe broughte backe againe to our Court of Chancerie so soone as maie be, with the indorcement of the place and time it was done : Heiroyf faile you not. In testimonie heiroff we wold hawe the faide proclamation be made patent, and sealed with our Greate Seale of Englande. At our houle of Richmonde, 4. December, the 27 yeare of our raigne, 1586."

There be manie things heire to be confidered ; and in the first, the pride, self conceit and crueltie of the hautie minded woman intituling her selff Queene of Fraunce, as if shee so were, whereas shee newer hath anie thinge there ; whereas, with better reason, her cusinge is more worthie, and hath that title, and yeet shee attributeth to her selff this qualitie in such sorte, that when shee speaketh of the Christian Kinge, shee doeth not name him Kinge of Fraunce, but the French Kinge, after a contemptuous and disdainefull maner, as shee doeth the Kinge of Spaine, and all other Christian Kinges, the Spanish Kinge &c, as namelie, the Queene of Scottes, the Scottish Queene, as if shee her selff wer the Queene of Scottes, and onlie so, but wer soweraigne Queene ower all the Kinges of Europe. Secundlie, shee saith, that the Scottish Queene was abidinge in her realme vnder her protection. If this woorde, protection, be taken for defence, you see weelee what protection shee had from her, and the issue weelee declareth it. This kinde of protection hath the felie lambe in the mouth of the wolfe when he sucketh her bloode. But if it be taken for subiection or wassalage, as they will seeme to hawe it to be understoode, it [is] amost false lie ; for this Queene was newer, nor could

be, subiect, nor ewer walde aknowledge or confesse her selff to be a waffale to her. There be some who alledge, that, by Acte of Parliament, shee hath made all those to be declared subiect to her lawes which abide in her realme, of what estate, condition, qualitie or sexe soewer they be : if it be so, it is a manifest token what shee meant, and that this is an affected and exquisite lawe against the lawe of nationes, to founde ther iurisdiction vpon the Queene of Scottes : But in this shee is foolishhe, and her councell altogether ignorant and euil adwised, seeinge it is not in her power to make lawes repugnant to the lawe of nature, and the lawe of all nationes of the world, that should invade her to awenge such crueltie inuented by her, (not beinge a lafull Queene, but a bastarde,) tendinge to the dissolution and ruine of all humane societie.

Some alledge that the Queene of Scottes did voluntarilie submitt her selff to this lawe, and subscribed, I knowe not to what association, with the subiectes of England, by which they be bounde to sweare and protest to maintaine ther mistres, and to reuenge to the last cast all enterprises which shalbe made against her liffe and estate. If it be so that [the] Queene of Scottes hawe subscribed to this association with the subiectes of England, it is an infallible argument of her goode will to her cusinge, and the crime imposed vpon her to be but forged and suborned at ther pleasure, to serue for a pretexte of iustice longe before prepared and designed for preambles to her deathe. But I thinke not that shee tooke Elizabeth ewer for her superiour, nor that shee submitted her selff to her scepter ; for it is certanlie knowen vnto all the ambassadouris of forren Princes, that shee neuer wold aknowledge that point, no, not althought it might hawe saiued her liffe in so doinge. But put the case, shee had associated her with Elizabethes subiectes, it doeth import that shee did it not to become her subiect, but that acte which shee did, (if anie shee did, as is alledged,) was to shewe her zeale and affection to Elizabeth ; and therefore it should not [be] wrested besides

her intention to become a snare, and so turne to her preiudice, and be abused against her thought being so interpreted to take from her her liffe, honour, and title and right from her and her issue of the crowne of England. If such farre fetched interpretatiounes of Elizabethes owen lawes might be allowed and receiued against her intention, when shee past them as current, touchinge them with her scepter, I thinke manie of them might be made snares for her selff.

But to returne to our present mater we hawe in hande, about the Soveraigntie of a prince, wheroff ther is a greate question amongest the greatest lawers, and thus it is questioned, Whether a Kinge or Soveraigne prince maie abase him selff so farre foorth, as to make his person or people subiect to the lawes of an other Kinge, and by this meanes to loose and abdicat his iurisdiction, which is the essentiall forme of Soweraigntie. The resolution of the greatest clarkes is, that he can not do it. And so it is to no purpose for the councell of England to hawe drawen by these cunninge sleighes from this ladie, such a subscription of there league and confederation, since shee can not dismishe her selff of her Soweraigntie: for prowe heiroff, let them acknowledge them selwes to be the popes wassalles and subiectes, if this probleame of thers holde for current lawe. Did not Kinge John dismishe him selff of the crowne of England, resigninge it ower in the popes handes, for him and his successoures, to be held of the pope in fee farme for payinge him a thousande merkes a year? I thinke the councell of Englande will not saie this acte was goode in lawe, albeit it was done by him with all ceremonies requisite, yea, althought the barons had approwed it with ther handes and seales, as no doubt some of them did, and speciallie those that wer of his priue councell for the time. So albeit this ladie could dismishe her selff of her Soweraigntie, as shee can not in ther owen opinion, so it is, that this pretended subiection, so extorted from a prisoner by feare, or force and wiolence to saiw her liffe and estate, think-

inge by theſe meanes to eſcape ther bloodie handes, ſhould take no place before anie iudge in the world.

But I am affured, and it [is] weelee knowen, her Maieſtie was a ladie of ſuch a pregnant witte, and ſuch curagious ſpirite, that newer ſuch a thought came in her minde ſo to hazarde her roiale perſon, and to obſcure her honour, that ſhee wold ewer condeſcend to that which all her noble aunceſtours did defend againſt Elizabethes progenitours, which they could newer attaine vnto. Who is ſo rude and ignorant that haue not harde it reported, that it was her Maieſties commoun ſpeech, when ewer they mowed her in anie ſuch motion, that ſhee wold newer ſo diſmiſſe her frie Soveraigntie, that ſhee wold preiudice her ſelff or ſonne either of her croune which ſhee had in poſſeſſion, or of the righte of an other which either ſhee had a righte vnto, althought ſhee ſhould [be] threatned therto by the loſſe of her liſſe. Shee could newer abide anie that wolde make the leaſt motion of ſubmiſſion to Engliſhe, or to demitte her theroff to anie other but her ſonne. Shee ſaid ewer ſhee wold newer ſubieſt a kingdome and ſtate, ſo auncient, noble and famous, to a broken ſcepter ſo often owerthrowne, conquered, and reconquered by ſuch as had no title nor name of Soweraigntie, but ſubieſtes to other Soweraigne Kinges. And ſo to conforme my ſelff in this opinion in all ther proceedinges made againſt her Maieſtie, lett the ſhamles liar now ſpeake, if he can or darre be ſo impudent, let him denie it if he can, whether did her Maieſtie ewer at anie time aknowledge Elizabeth to be her Soweraigne, or her ſelff to be in anie wife ſubieſt to her? did ſhee not ewer denie, boith in woorde and wrete? did ſhee not alwaies denie to giue vp her righte and title ſhee had, or mighte haue, to the croune of England, boith by woorde and wrete? did not ſhee ewer denie, that Elizabeth or her counsell had anie righte to iudge her? This maie be ſeene by her Maieſties owen letters heirafter. I can not, then, ſee howe ſhee can be vnder Elizabethes proteſtion, and I thinke, in werie deede this aſſertion

and speach to be flatte lies and manifest illusions, as is all the folish narratioun of the conspiracies imagined and plotted by the Queene of Scottes, as we shall see heirafter.

Nowe touchinge that which is faide, that by the sage adwife of hercouncell, proceedinge is made against the Queene of Scottes in the most honourable maner that maie be dewised, I aunswere, that if it be so, her counsell is werie evil taughte, and knowe neither goode, nor honour and honestie ; and I praie God such honour maie befall them, as they hawe much better deserwed it then ewer shee did. But in so much that the narratioun of such indignities was offered this ladie, ar rather to be learned of her owen mouth, and so beleiwed for truth, then of anie man elles, I will sett doune a letter written by her to a greate Lord, that was one of her most faithfull and affectionat serwantes ; which I thought goode to insert, to lett you vnderstand not onlie the forme of proceedinge used against her Maiestie, but also to make you knowe the true historie and causes of this tragedie described by her selff, without couloure or passion, shee hawinge no neede to disguise anie thinge wretinge to him that did thoroulie knowe the estate of her affaires, her liffe paste, her intention, and the greater parte of her secrecies.

“ MONSIEUR, &c. After that I hawe longe deferred thorowe the danger of interceptinge, I hawe in the end condiscended to the motion which hath beene so often made vnto me, to saiwe my selff, if possiblie I could. That which is befallne you shalbe my phyfition. There be werie fewe serwantes lefte vnto me, and I knowe not howe longe those that ar with me shalbe suffered to be with me. I knowe not whether I shall hawe leasure to make my last will, and whether they will giwe leawe to do it. I can not hawe anie to wrete for me : all my monie, jewelles, and papers be taken awaie from me. I hawe request but for one serwant more, but can hawe no aunswere. If this faele, you ar to be instant

with his Holines, as with the Christian Kinge, and the Kinge of Spaine, the Duke of Lorrain, and all other Christian princes, my parentes and friendes, that my papers, monie, iewelless and other movables be restored me againe ; and that such thinges as shall appeare alreadie to be distributed amongst my serwantes, they maie enioye it, that my conscience maie be discharged that waie. You will thinke those newes strange, if you have not as yett harde of it, that by the mouth of my Lord of Bukhurft, Amias Paulet, my cruell jealousy, and one Drewe Drurie Knighte, and Beale, it was notified vnto me that the assemblie of ther [councell] had condemned me to die, which they saide they wer commanded to signifie vnto me on the parte of ther Queene, exhortinge me to confesse and acknowledge mine offences against her, that I mighte die pacientlie and weelee, to the discharginge of my conscience. Shee sent vnto me a Bisshope and a Deane, tellinge me the occasion of this my death, was the instant request of her people, alledging, while I her competitor liwed, (as it appeared that I had longe ago taken the name and armes of this crowne, without willingnes to acquite it, onles I might stand as second person,) shee could not liue sure in her estate, seeinge the Catholiques called me ther Soveraigne Queene, and her liif had beene often practised against to that end. Secondlie, and that wherunto shee had more regarde, was that whillest I liwed the estate of her religion could not be assured. I thanke God, then, and them for the honour they giue me, to be so necessarie an instrument for the re-establishinge of the religion within this whole Isle, of which, (though vnwoorthie,) I wold take vpon me to be a most earnest and zealous defendresse, in the testimonie wheroff, as I had often protested, I wold willinglie shed my bloode ; and further also I wold take vpon me, if for the publick goode and peace of this Isle, the people thought that my bloode mighte stande them in steade, not to spare it, nor refuse to be liberall theroff, till the last droppe, in liewe and recompence of longe tuentie yeares emprisonment that I



hawe beene heire deteined, flatte contrarie to your Queenes promise by her owen hand wreete, and her ambaffadoures, so often made vnto me. But nowe I weele perceiued shee did all this and more to take me in her nettes, for I trusted her promises so much, that I refused the faithfull adwise of my owen subiectes and loiale cuntrie men, who wold never giue me ther consent to seeke for anie succour of Englande, who had so often treacherousslie drawn my honourable auncestoures by faire promises, which they newer keepte, into ther snares. As for my conscience, I saide I coulde dispose of it without them, and that wold willinglie receive the holie sacrament departinge this liffe, if I might hawe one to giue me that and other conforte accordinge to my minde.

They aunswered me tauntinglie, I had enough to do, if I wer neither sainte nor martyre, for I died for the murder of ther Queene, and because I wold hawe dispossessed her of her roiale scepter and crowne. I tolde them I was newer so desirous to aspire to honoures, that I wold come to them by murder, and that I was newer so presumptuous, as to thinke my selff woorthie of the name of a sainte or martyre: Let ther Queene, in her pretended maner, take these titles to her, as shee presumptuously with her father usurped the title, heade of the church, which is proper to Iesus Christe alone, my onlie Sawiour and Redeemer. I saide forder, albeit by Godes permission, for causes knowen to his diuine Maiestie, not by anie righte of lawe or iustice that had my bodie in ther handes, and had power (as said is) ower it, yeet had they no power ower my soule to hinder me to hope that, by his mercie who sent his sonne to die for me, I maie enter into glorie: the power that they had of my bodie, I saide, was like the power of theiues and robbers ower an honest and true man travellinge by the hie waie. I saide I was newer so desirous to rule anie realme, that to attaine therunto I minded to shed anie mannes bloode by murderinge them, takinge awaie ther liffe that wold loose ewerlastinge liif my selff. God forbide that ewer

anie such thought should enter into my heart. I protested and called God to witnes, before whome one daie ther Queene and I, and all my false accusers should be presented, that I neuer deuised, counselled, or commaunded her death, nor had anie minde to hurte her person for my particular, nor had anie intelligence with anie that intended or purposed anie harme to her. Hoo, saie they, you haue suffered, permitted and counselled that the Englishe should name you their Queene and ther Soweraigne, as appeareth by the letters of Allen and Lowis, and manie other more, and you neuer contradicted it: To which I aunswered, I had vndertaken no thinge, but to hinder the doctours and men of the church to name me so at ther pleasour. Further, they alledged that the Pope did as yeet still praie for me vnder the name of that title: I aunswered, if he did so, I was not priuie to it. To be breiffe, I saide, I desired to liue in the church, as in the bosom of my mother, but not to murder anie in it to haue ther place; for in this point, I sawe the like in the persuite that Saule made against Dauid, but I could not, as he did, escape through the windoe, but that ther might of my bloode, thought it wer longe to, arise some protectours and awengeres of the innocencie of my cause, and I doubted, but my God [wold] see howe I was delte with on all handes.

But nowe not longe since the other daie, Paulet and Drewe Drurie, the more modest and much more courteous by oddes, came to adwertise me, that since I was admonished to prepare confession and repentance of my faultes against ther Queene, but neither ther Bishope nor they requested me to remember my finnes against my God, whome I ewer beseech to be mercifull vnto me throwe Iesus Christe, for all my grievous finnes against his divine Maiestie done and committed, and against all man and woman whatsoewer, and speciallie against ther Queene, if in anie thinge I had offended her, but to craiue her pardon that I had purpose or intelligence to murder her, I neuer thought on such a

mater, lett be to practife it, and therefore wold newer craiwe forgiwenes at her handes, or anie man elles in her name, for that mater. They faide, if I wold not aknoweledge my offence towardes ther miftres, that shee had commaunded them to take from me my clothe of eftate, fignifeinge therby that I was but a deede woman, without honour or dignitie of a Queene. I aunfwered, fince God by his grace had called me, thought they tooke awaie my cloth of eftate from me, yeet they could not take from me the white clothe of innocencie in the maters they charged me with, nor the kingdome of my Sawiour, who had affured me of it in my confcience, thorowe his merites who knoweth weele my innocencie in all thofe other imputatiounes moft iniuftlie laide to my charge ; and for the dignitie of a Queene, I had it of him in the fame mercie, and was anointed therin by his providence, and did holde it onlie of him, and to him onlie wold I rander it with my foule. As for ther Queene, neither shee, her counsell, nor her affemblie of her cruell hearted ftates, they could not take my liffe from me, nor my roiale dignitie, except the diwine permiffion had fuffered the fame. I muft faie with my Sawiour, they could hawe no power ower me except it had beene giwen them from abowe. God my Creatour and my Redeemer gaiwe me liffe, honour and dignitie ; to this God I giwe boith againe with all my hearte and my foule, truftinge by his mercie to be faiwed. God is my onlie fuperiour ; as for your Queene I newer thought to aknoweledge her to be woorthie to be placed in the rounge and place of my God. God is my onlie fuperiour, and therefore will I newer thinke [her] woorthie to be fo to me, nor her counsell and affemblie of her ftates to be my laufull judges : tell her from me, that I fhall die a frie and roiale Queene, in that dignitie God hath giwen me, in defpite of her and them ; and that neither shee nor they hawe anie power or fuperioritie ower me, except fuch as theiwes hawe at the corner of a woode or hedge ower an innocent man and a true, goinge about his lafull bufines. God can

scourge with the rode, and then throwe the rod in the fire. The Lord shall after my death lett it be seene exemplifeed in them, that be the causers theroff, that they and the most of them either before or on ther death, or after the same, shall haue no honour, conforte or greate esperance, but shame, confusion and the worme of conscience, eatinge them vp like a gangren without all hope of conforte. I shall, (by the assistance of Goddes holie sprite guidinge me,) die chearfullie in my innocencie, when they, in the terrour of conscience, fearfullie shall make an end of ther miserable liffe, onwillinge to pairte from this earthlie paradise, fearinge throwe the guiltines of ther crueltie against me, they can not haue accesse to the heawenlie paradise. Manie Kinges of England haue been cruellie murdered, and therfore it seemeth no newe thinge to me to [be] accounted one in that role: But this is my conforte, I shalbe innocent of that which they pretend against me to cloake my murder. God forgiue them, and I pardon them with all my hearte.

After, when my loiale, true and faithfull serwantes wolde not at ther commaund, althought they wer hardlie threatned, put ther handes to worke to take doune my clothe of state, and did boldlie refuse it, and hearinge younge children crie aloude a wengeance vpon him and his companie, the burriour calleth to him seawen or eight of the gwarde to pulle it doune, and cowered him selff in it: which beholdinge I faide, that cloth was neuer ordained to hide thy treacherous and wicked designs against the dignitie roiale of a Prince. He answered me, lookinge vpon my chaffe table, that it was not nowe time for me to exercise my pastime at the chaffe, and therfore he wold take it with him. I faide, I thanke my God I neuer recreated me at it, or anie other game, but I could forbear it when I had anie earnest busines to go about, and since this last busines came to my knowledge, I minded to recreate my selff onlie with spirituall recreationes, and the conforte which the Lord in mercie hath afforded me, more then I,

poore wretch, could expect or desire at his handes. Thankes be to him therefore.

I assembled yesterdaie together my litle companie of attendantes, as yeet lefte me, whome I directed to be true witneses of my protestatiounes, as wee in my religion, as to discharge my conscience in that wherwith they falslie urged me, that is, that I should hawe distributed the estates of this realme, and other lies of the which I hawe cleared my selff, and which I newer knewe of, as knoweth God. I hawe charged them in the name of God, for the discharge of a goode conscience, that I hawe done for the discharge of my owen conscience that which becometh a true Christian to do, and hawe lefte no thinge behinde vnperformed which might staine the reputatioun of my honour and thers whome in anie waies I maie concerne. I am certanlie informed that they hawe bribed some to saie I hawe done the like to haisten ther mistres death. I saide it, and true it is, I neither knewe anie such mater, nor yeet wold denie it, if so had beene, but aske and craiwe mercie at Goddes handes, who hath mercie in store for all penitent sinners, amongest whome I count my selff the cheiffest, but not in that which is falslie laide to my charge, as knoweth God.

I commend vnto you my poor serwantes, so often commended: I recommend them ower againe vnto you, and all my weeie willinge freindes, and that in the name of God; they, goode people, hawe lost ther time, and all in the losse of me: bid them adewe on my parte, and giue them your best counsell in charitie. Commende me to Lutine, and bid him remember howe I promesed to die constant, and that I am quitte of my promese: Commende me to all of his minde, and tell him I am werie willinge, and ewer beene so minded, to sacrifice my selff for the salvatioun of soules within this Isle. Adewe nowe for the last time, and hawe in minde the honour of her who some time was your mistres, and weeie willinge goode freinde; and if by finisier information or misinterpretation of your services, I hawe beene offended,

I praie you and all my servantis to pardon me that which I maie hawe done in anger or misunderstandinge; for I protest, I thinke you not culpable in anie thinge towardes me, and I pardon you with all my hearte wherin soewer you hawe offended me: and I praie you thinke that I aknowledge my selff most bounde to all my serwantes for all ther goode serwices; and that wold I hawe requited, if I had not beene prewented in the meanes, (as saide is,) and if it had pleased God to hawe giwen me longer liffe, which since it maie not be, I will heartilie praie vnto God at my last breth and end, that my soule maie be saiwed, and to rewarde them better than ewer I could do. God be with you and all my serwantes, whome I must leawe as asmanie orphanes, to be provided for of him who hath prepared for me his heavenlie kingdome, there to raigne with him world without [end]. To him, therefore, be all glorie and honour. Amen. Foderinghaie, this Thurisdaie, 24 November 1586.

Your most lowinge and goode mistres, &c.

M. R.

Under and belowe were these woordes wreten, thus—

“ They fallie mantaine that my cominge into this cuntrie was against my will, and that I could not hawe anie other place of refuge; and that I, for that cause, was in ther protection. I saide the contrarie, and it is true: and Lochinwar, Hereis the younger, and the heires of the Archbishope of St Andrewe, with Fleminge, that tooke all of them letters of discharge vnder my hand, in that against ther goode will and likinge I wolde needes come in to England, which they saide had ewer delte treacheroullie with so manie of my auncestouris that came within the dominious therof, althought by faire promeses they had beene notified and invited to come. And therefore I saide, my father did wife-lie in returninge backe againe when as he was about to hawe commed to Yorke to meete Henrie 8, and that they wer his faithfullest subiectes

who gaiwe him counsell so to do. But I commaunded my best freindes to permit me to hawe my will, hopinge that, accordinge to promese, I should hawe founde freindshipe where I hawe founden none; but in steade theroff, all kinde of wiolence and persecucion, on my parte vnderferwed. I praie you gett me the wretes exemplified which I gaiwe them for ther discharge."

I hawe sett doune this last clause as an appendice necessarie to convince Buchannans historie of impudencie, in reportinge the discourse of the last trubles in Scotland, to hawe fallen out and come to passe by the rebellious of those that stood for the righte of ther lafull Queene, accordinge to the goode likinge of Elizabeth, the pretended Englishe Queene, whose factioun he had ewer followed against his cuntrie, and against his true and lafull Queene and mistres. I am of the opinion he was the sonne of some commone strumpett, he hath so defended in his wretis the dewilishe wicked dealinges of thrie bastardis, Elizabeth, Murraie and Morton, against his saide mistres.

But to returne to the honourable maner of proceedinge, which the Englishe is saide to hawe kept in the behalffe of the Queene of Scottes, you see by this letter which I hawe sett doune to lett you knowe wheroff they hawe accused her and howe, and to shewe you the litle and smalle apparence of zeale in iustice was used in her triale; for so farre from it was shee that shee conspired, attempted, or imagined anie thinge against Elizabeth, that, vpon the contrarie, shee desired by all meanes to preferwe her from the ambushes and euil intentiones of those, which her cusinge, not weele adwised, thinketh still, so longe as shee liwed, her best and trustiest serwantes, beinge no thinge lesse then so but the greatest traitouris that maie be imagined; and in the end, if they can, and be not prewented, had not failed to ride them selwes of her, as shee, by ther wicked persuations, had made an end of her nearest kiniswoman, whome shee had caused them to putt to death to satisfie

ther ambitious humour, which, vnder the maske of zeale, they faine to hawe to her service, prepare for her the losse of her liffe, the extreme ruine of her estate, to remowe her sceptor to an other house and familie that is nearar to thers then hers; which you maie weeie perceiue by a letter writen to Elizabeth by her faide cufinge a litle before her death. In it you maie [perceiue] by manie ewident signes, the meaninge of this ladie towards her cufinge, the forged crimes laide to her charge, and the vnfeingied lowe shee bare to her greatest enemies, and likewise the honourable maner of proceedinge, which they saie they obserued in her triale, in regarde of her persoune, which shalbe followeth foorth fullie, after we hawe sett down the letter, in the same woordes shee wrete in, as heirafter followeth.

Marie Q. of Scottes  
to Q. Elizabeth.

MADAME, hawinge obtained libertie and licence of them to whome I was committed, and to whome I hawe beene, as it wer, giuen by you, to shoue you that which is in my hearte, asweele for the discharge of my conscience of anie euil or envious desire to committ anie cruell or hostile acte against you, to whome I am so neare allied in bloode, as also charitable to communicat vnto you, that which I thought might serue also for your saiwegarde and preferuation, as for entertaininge peace and quiet repose within this Ilande, a thinge which can not hurt, it beinge in your power to take or reiect my adwise, to beliue or not to beliue my discourse as it seemeth best vnto you. I hawe resolued to fortifie my self in Christe onlie, who will neuer feill of iustice and consolatioun to them that do invoke him in sinceritie of hearte, and in ther tribulatiouns flie vnto him, who then is rediest to do it when beinge destitute of all humane succour they flie vnto him. To him be glorie therefore, for he hath not denied me my heartes desire, nor frustrate me of my expectatioun, for he hath giuen me a goode hearte and curage patientlie to suffer and endure these iniustices and calumnious accu-



tiouns, and the false condemnatiounes of those who hawe no iurisdiction ower me, and I hope, against hope, with a constant resolution to die, not that I deserued so to do for anie thinge I hawe done against you ; but for that I, your competitrice, could neuer be perswaded by the English to surrender my righte in your handes, of that which God, in his mercie, had preordinat me vnto : which if I should hawe done, I could not hawe aunswered him at the dreadfull daie of iudgment, giwinge from me that which he had put in my handes for the goode of my posteritie, to whome one daie I truste my Lord God shall graunte the grace to enioye it in peace and his feare. Since, therefore, it was on your parte giuen me to understand of the sentence of the last assemblie of some of your estates, admonishinge me by my Lord Buckhurste and Beale, to prepare my selff for my longe desired iorneie, I praied them to thanke you on my parte for such goode newes, and to entreate you to graunte me certane tyme, for the better discharge of my conscience ; wheroff Sir Amias Paulet gaiwe me after false notice, sayinge, that you had therewith gratified me, permittinge me my Almoner, and my moneye and Jewelles which was taken from me, and he assured me other thinges wold follow ; for the which I wold willinglie hawe giuen you thanks : and further will begge this one last fawoure, which for manie causes I thinke ought not to be communicated to anie but onlie to you, in that it is the last fawour, for which I desire to be bounde to no other but your selff ; because I expect to finde no thinge but crueltie amongst the greatest parte of those who beare authoritie vnder you at this present, the be so animate against me, as I hawe boith perceiued my selff, and harde of others woorthie of credite. God knoweth for what cause, and in what respect. I pardon them with all my heart : I will not condemne anie, nor accuse them. I pardone them, I saie, and ewerie one, as I desire that ewerie one should pardon me, and that God should do it first.

After which, I weeke knowe, that the honour or dishonour of your

bloode, speciallie of a Queene, your nearest kinnifwoman aliue, and the daughter of a kinge, so honourable descended lineallie of so manie kinges from kinge to kinge to me, that no Christian kinge can reken the like pedegrie; this, I saie, I thinke should touch your heart nearest of anie other: and therefore, in the name and honour of Iesus Christe, whose name and honour to all princes ought to be most deare, and to whome they should render all due obedience, I request you, that after my enemies shall haue satisfieed ther insatiable desire in shedding my innocent bloode, which they haue longe thirsted for, my poore companie of seruantes maie haue leawe, cariage and bearinge awaie my bodie to be buried, where some of my honourable auncestoures be enterred, foorth of England; for heire, in this cuntrie, I can haue no place of buriall amongst your predeceffoures, which be also mine, for that is denied me: but who knoweth but God one daie, (althought man on earth refuse this charitable petition and last request,) maie bringe it to passe, howsoever nowe it seemeth to be almost impossible.

You knowe the patriarkes haue beene verie desirous of this, and haue had the like libertie graunted them of those who did make such shewe of pietie as you do in no thinge; and because it [is] tolde me you will in no thinge force or straine my conscience, and will permitt me to haue accordinge to my minde of religion, I hope you will not denie me this last request, that the heathen princes haue graunted the patriarkes of the originall world, that is, to permitt frie buriall, accordinge to my minde, of my corpes, after my soule shalbe separated from the bodie, and returne to God that gaiue it, into whose handes I committ it to rest with him; which, when they wer vnited heire, they coulde neuer haue libertie to liue at repose, in that quiet I longe wished, neither did you laubour or procure them to be winne vnto God and your self: but yett I hope to rest with him world without end, althought you, in this point, haue had litle care in performinge

this christian dewetie towards your distressed nearest kinnifwoman in her lifetime. As for my death, I pardon you, as I desired to be pardoned of God and you in all thinges : in which regarde, before God I do challenge you of no faulte, but God, after my death, maie make you sie and saie the truth on my behalffe. And because I weeie perceiue the secrete hidden tyrannie of some, I praie you that, without your knowledge and priuities, I maie not go to execution, not for feare of torment, which, (I thanke my God that he hath so strengthened me with spirituall comfort,) I do not feare to endure, seeinge his sonne, my deare Sawiour, had suffered more guiltleslie then I am able to endure. I praie you let me suffer openlie, and not be murdered in secrete, for the brute which shalbe made of my death without testimony : for it hath bene ewer commune in this cuntrie to reporte otherwise then the truth of these the state disliked, yea ewen ther death malicious . . . and hatred most spitefull hawe not died ; which to awoide, at least graunt that my owen serwantes that be lefte me, if you will suffer none other, may be eie witnesss to testifye of my end made in the faith of my Sawiour, and obedience of the church, and that they together careinge my corpes so quietlie and secretlye, as it shall please you, thither where I hawe desired it to be enterred, maie retire them selwes where it shall please God to guide them, without anie hinderance to carie with them the smalle thinge they hawe in ther possession, which I thought to hawe augmented, if your officers had not before hand taken all that was mine from [me], which hindered the charitable meaninge I had to do these my poore orphaines, as so manie poore motherles children, the goode I intended ; but the Lord, I truste, will do that in his mercie for them, which I was willinge, but not able to do.

One jewell I hawe had from you, which I meane to send you againe with my last woordes ; and I praie you againe, and require you in the name of God, and in regarde of our consanguinitie, and for the lowe you beare to kinge Henrie 7. your grandfather and mine, and in hon-

our of the dignitie which we hawe held, and of our common sexe, that these my last requestes be graunted me. Touchinge the rest, I hope you shall knowe that my clothe of state, longe before my death, was taken from me; which mighte weeles hawe beene permitted me so longe as I liwed: what curtesie, what humanitie was there in this, to take it awaie so longe as I liwed, beinge borne a Soweraigne Queene? I might hawe enioyed this simple badge of the honour of a prince during my liffe. But what remedie? I looke for a cloth of state in the hie heavens with my Saviour, ewen the merites of his death and passion, to cower my finnes. After I understoode that this was done onlie by the adwise of your counsell, and not by your commaundement, I did giue you thankes for it, and my God, that gawe me patience and curage to endur ther inhumane dealinge and crueltie, afflictinge me ewerie waie, hawinge resolved my selff to laie doune this liffe so troublesome to me, that I maie attaine a better without all truble and miserie. I feare that manie other thinges hawe had the like cariage, which, I suppose, was the cause they wold [not] suffer me to wrete vnto you, before they had so farre foorth as the could in ther pretended maner, for a cloake in outwarde shewe to the execution of ther malice, degraded me of all principalitie and nobilitie. God be praised for all. I wolde all my papers had beene presented vnto you without all disguisinge, that therby you might hawe perceiued that the onlie care of your saistie mowed them in this action, that are so readie to persecute me your nearest kinniswoman. If you will graunte me this last request, commaunde that I maie see what you wretetheranent, for otherwise they will deale with me at ther pleasure; for vnto this last request, I desire your last charitable aunswere, that I maie see trulie as it is deliwered.

To conclude, I desire the God of mercie, the righteous iudge, to enlighten you with his holie spirite, to deale with me vprightlie as the cause requireth, and that he will giue me his grace to die in the faith of Christ, and in charitie with all men, as I dispose my selff to do, pardon-

inge all who be interested in my death, and the copartners and cauffers theroff: such shall be my praier till my last breth, and the foule parte from the bodie. I beseech you, take it not for presumption if, abandoning this world, and preparinge my selff for a better, I trulie shewe you, that you shall hawe one daie a more vnquiet end then I am like to hawe, when your senses and memorie shall not hawe ther power to utter, and shewe in what cace you leawe this world, nor mine, (I thanke God for it,) are like to hawe: for, by the blessinge of God, such hath ewer beene his care ower me, they newer failed me yeet, nor yeet I hope shall do: To him be the praise therfore. Thinke before it come, you must aunswere for your charge as these who be gone before you: heire you hawe no permanent place, and I desire that all that be of my bloode, bethinke them selwes to dreame in time of these thinges that hawe hapned vnto me heire, duringe the time of iniuste detention and captiuitie. The Lord for his mercie graunte vnto ws all, and to ewerie true Christian, so to thinke of this, and all other earthlie afflictions and temporall, that in the meane time they forget not eternall. Amen. Foderinghaie, the xix of November 1586.

Your sister and cufinge presoner, with iniurie.

M. R.

The indifferent iudge maie heire [see], in the werie entrie of the letter, the honourable proceedinges, and the conscionable iustice done towardes the presoner Queene. Shee is giwen for a praie to her ennemies: shee is giwen into ther handes to iuse or abuse at ther pleasure; they gulle her: they disdaine her; they restraine her so rigourouslie, that shee hath not so much libertie as to complaine: Shee is not suffered to wrete vnto her kinnifwoman that should do her iustice, no, not after they hawe molested her with infinite iniuries. The commone lawe and the politie of kingedomes wee le gowerned, where lawes and iustice hawe place, giue

not leawe to jealousures to handle prifoners after ther difcretion, neither can they hinder them to iufe meanes to the iudge : they darre not paffe the order prefcribed them : they darre not iniure nor brawe anie perfon committed to ther warde. But heire we maie fee the intreatie this noble Princes, who can not iuftlie be counted a prifoner, when as fhee hath no other iudge but God : fhee is committed from an iealour to another, to be wexed and tormented fo longe as liffe lefteth. It is lauffull for anie offendant prifoner to ferwe him felff, at his proper cofte and charges, with fome attendant or ferwant, one or mo, at ther pleafour, where they be emprefoned, accordinge to ther degrie and qualitie of ther perfone ; to hawe apparell, linnings and other thinges needfull ; to cherife them with victualles and drinke, as ther abilitie will permitt : and that which is more, they hawe ther advocates and procurers to helpe them felwes by ther counsell, and to folicite for them. But all thefe thinges be denied this Queene, yea, ewen when fhee was difeafed in ficknes, when fhee was vnable to help her felff, they permitt not fo much as two maides to helpe her : they allowe her onlie one maide to attend her, and a warlet for her chamber ; and as for that which Paulet tolde her, that her Almoner fhould be reftored to her, it was not true ; for her Maieftie newer did fee anie of her officers and principall ferwantes but her phyfition and the apothecarie, without whole helpe fhee had beene deade longe before they had concluded all ther treacherous defignes againft her, and prepared all the miferies they thoughte meete to praftife, before they deliwered her ower in the handes of the executioner.

Touchinge the earneft, charitable petition for buriall and transportinge of her bodie, and other laft requestes made fo ferioufflie by her in this letter, it is plaine and manifefte howe they hawe beene denied, and the finalle accompt [that] was made of them ; and hence maie you iudge affuredlie of the goode will of this ladie towards her cufinge, her greateft ennemie. Shee, in this letter, imputeth not to her the caufe of her

death: shee attributeth to her neither the faulte nor the blame, albeit it was shee that procured her it, all the time of her longe emprefonment for the fpace of tuintie yeares, for it was in her power to hawe preferwed her from it, if shee wold: shee pardoneth from her hearte her death, shee praieth for her, who, in hypocrisie, to cower her malicious designes againft her diftressed kinnifwoman, did, with a shameles face, giue it out to the world, shee hath ewer a speciall regarde of her qualitie, and that her triale and the proceedinge therin is honourable, and that the fentence pronunced againft her is moft true and iufte. It is werie harde to be beliewed howe Paulet, her cruell jealousie, abufed her in his propofitions full of contempt and difdaine he made vnto her: and howe, when he had fpued out his choler an other wold fucceede him, beginninge where he had left, usinge fuch contumelies as no hearte was able to indure. Such indignities [and] iniuries did shee indure daielie, and that pacientlie, ewen to her dieinge daie, yea, in the werie hower shee gaiwe vp her foule in the handes of the Almightye, shee was not frie, nor faiwe from fuch open, notorious afflictionnes, as yee fhall perceiwe after I hawe fett doune the commiffion of the English Q., directed to her officers, to proceede to the reale and actuall execution of the fentence of death. By it you maie perceiwe the true cauffes of the pronouncinge of the fentence in the behalfe of the pronuncers theroff, accordinge to the commiffion directed to them, which they looke not fo neare into as they wold needes beare the world in hand they do. But the true caufe that mowed them was this. Ther owen affurance, who for the outrages they had offered and done to this ladie duringe her captiuitie, and ther plottes, treafons and carriages they dewifed at all times againft her liffe and eftate, fearinge her, and defpairinge to finde grace and fawour at her handes in that regarde, if anie thinge befell vnfortunatelic ther miftres, or, accordinge to comoune courfe of nature, the Queene prefoner did fucceede her; which thinge maie be easilie coniectured by readinge and perufing

the werie woordes of the commiffion it felff : as it is in plaine woordes it followeth :

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendrese of the faith, To our lowinge and faithfull cufinges, George, Earle of Shreuisburie, Greate Marshall of England, Henrie, Earle of Kent, Henrie, Earle of Darbie, George, Earle of Cumberland, Henrie, Earle of Pembroke, &c. Confidering the sentence giwen by you and other of Our counsell, nobilitie and judges, againft the sometime Scottifhe Queene, Dowrier of Fraunce, by the name of Marie, the daughter and heire of James the fifte, Kinge of Scotland, which all the eftates of our realme, affembled in Parliament, not onlie commaunded, but with mature deliberatioun ratifeed, to be iufte and reasonable : Seeinge likewise, the instant praiers and requestes of our fubiectes follicitinge and preffinge us to proceed to the publicatioun theroff, and to putt it in execution againft her person, as they hawe iudged her to hawe iuftlie deferwed, all ioninge in this regarde, that the detention of her was, and fhould be, a dailie and certane evident danger not onlie to our liffe, but alfo to them felwes and ther posteritie, and the publicte state of this realme, afweele for the Gofpell and true religion of Chrifte, as for the peace and tranquillitie of the whole ftate ; upon which, albeit with time and delaie, we made the faide sentence to be publifhed by our proclamation, and albeit to this werie houre we hawe forborne to graunt this execution to be executed, yeet the ample fatiffaction of the faide requestes made by the eftates of our Parliament, by which we daielie vnderftande that all our lowinge and faithfull fubiectes, afweele of the nobilitie and counsell, as alfo our moft fage, grawe and dewouted of the inferiour forte and condition, with all humbletie and affectioun for the care they hawe of our liffe, and consequentlie for the feare they hawe of the decaie of the prefent religion profeffed, and happie eftate of this



realme, if we forbear anie longer this execution ; and albeit the generall requestes, and continuall praiers, counsell and adwise wer in such maters contrarie to our inclination, yeet beinge owercome with urgent weight of ther continuall intercessions, tendinge not onlie to the securitie of our perfon, but to the publiſt and particular goode of the whole estate of our realme, we hawe suffered and agreed that iustice should take place, and for the execution theroff, for the singular truste and confidence we hawe of your fidelitie and loialtie, as also for the particular lowe and affection which you hawe on your partes for the saiwegarde of our perfon and your natiwe cuntrie, of which you be all of you the most noble and principall members, we commaunde you, and for discharge theroff, we enioine you, that vpon the fighte of these presentes, you repaire to our castle of Foderinghaie, where the late Queene of Scottes is in the keepinge and warde of our lowinge and faithfull seruante and counsellour, Sir Amias Paulett, and to take her into your charge, and cause by your commaundement execution be done vpon her perfon in the prefence of your selwes, the saide Sir Amias Paulet and all others, officers of iustice, that you shall commaund to attend you for that effect ; and the saide execution done in such maner and forme, and in such time and place, and by such persons as you or anie foure, thrie or two of you, shall thinke expedient by your discretion, notwithstandinge all lawes, statutes and ordinances whatsoewer, to the contrarie to these presentis sealed with our greates seale of England, which shall serwe for you, and ewerie one of you, and for all those that shalbe present, and shall do by your commaundement anie thinge pertaininge to the saide execution, for a full and sufficient discharge for ewer. Made and giwen at our houle of Greinewich, the first daie of Februarie, and 29 yeare of our reigne.

This Commiffion so giwen, the 7 daie followinge, which was the 17 of Februarie accordinge to the Gregorian callender, the Earle of Shreuif-

burie, the Earle of Kent, Mr Beall, and Elizabethes other Commiffioners, arriwed at Foderinghaie about two or thrie houres before the middes of the daie, and cominge thither in the prefence of Paulet, the Commiffion was red to the Queene, then prefoner, bearinge that in the next daie in the morninge, they wold proceede to the execution, admonifhing her to be in redines betuine feawen and eight of the cloke. Shee, newer a white aftonifhed, thanked them for ther goode newes, afferminge that they could bringe none that liked her better, becaufe nowe fhee fould fee an end of all her miferies, and that it was longe fince fhee had made her felff redie to die, ewer fufpectinge, fince her detention in England, that fhee fould newer finde better at ther miftres handes and thers; but fhee was forie fhee was not fooner certifeed theroff, that fhee might hawe made her will, and giwen order for all her afaires, and to hawe difpofed of fuch litle meanes as they had lefte her, for the better difcharginge of her confcience towards her poore ferwantes, prayinge them to giwe her fome time to do it, feeinge they had power to do it without anie checke of the commiffion. To whome the Earle of Shreuifburie aunfwered werie rudlie, "No, no, Madame, you muft die; make you readie betuine feawen and eight of the cloke in the morninge. We will not prolonge one minute for your pleasure." Wherwith fhee was fatiffeed and refted her felff, till they retired them felwes backe from her prefence; which beinge done, fhee prefentliesett her felff to make her will, and to diftribute the litle moneie they had lefte her amongeft her poore ferwantes, makinge each of them fuch allowance fo farre foorth as the fmall quantitie did reach. The night preceedinge her death fhee fpent in praiers, and readinge the paffion of Chrifte, and other spirituall confortatiounes. Betuine nine and ten of the night, fhee fent for her Almoner, whome they wold not fuffer to come neare here: which fhee perceiwinge that, contrarie to promefe, it was denied her, fhee fould hawe anie spirituall confort from him, fhee wrete to him as followeth.

I HAVE beene stranglie affaulted this daie anent my religion, and to receiue conforte[and] consolatioune of these of a contrarie minde, who wer newer so charitable, all the time of my tuentie yeares captiuitie, to mowe in anie such mater. I haue requested to haue your furtherance for the better disburdeninge of my conscience, and in makinge of my last will; but it is cruellie denied me, as also all libertie to make a frie testament, against all ther former promeses made to me of boith: yea, they haue denied me that my bodie shall be transported at all, as I did craiue the same of ther mistres. They will not suffer that I should wrete anie thinge, except it be by ther helpinge handes and direction, which boith I haue had no neede of heirtofore, neither stande I so much neede nowe of it, but I maie weelee do my owen turne without it. They tell me I must do no thinge but at the goode pleasour of ther mistres, and ther permission. I praie you watche and praie this one nighte with me and for me. I confesse all my finnes in generall and in particular, wherein I haue offended my mercifull God, beseechinge him to looke doune from the heaven, and to pardon me them in the multitude of his vnspeakable mercie, that I maie rest with him at the partinge of my soule from the bodie. I thought to haue had you with me as an eie witnes of this my last cariage in so necessarie a time. Giue me your best adwise what maie be my best direction in my praiers this longe nighte, for I desire to be dissolwed and to be with Christe my Redeemer. I will yeet assaie to see you in ther presence, as they haue accorded to me in the hearinge of the maister of the house. The time is shorte: I haue no more to saie, but adiewe. I will recommend [you] with all the rest of my faithfull seruantes to the Kinge. I haue no more leasure. I praie you adwise me in all thinges you shall thinke necessarie for my salvatioun, and that in wrete. I haue sent you a small token; and faire weelee and adiewe againe and for ewer. Your lowinge mistres,

Q. Marie to her  
Almoner.

M. R.

So the nighte beinge thus spent, and the daie come, about eight of the clocke in the morninge, there entered her Maiesties chamber a bolde malaperte companion, who, without all preface (so shameles faced was he), of honour or reuerence, abruptlie burst foorth with a shout and outcrie, hawinge a white staffe in his hande, in these woordes, "Beholde I am come, I am come." This fellowe, all the while her Maiestie was yeet vpon her knies at her praiers, walked vp and doune harde bye, without makinge anie signe of goode maners and courtesie to anie there, so rude was he. But her Maiestie hawinge ended her praiers, rose vp, thinkinge he came to certifie and foirewarne her of her execution. Shee toke in her hand an ivorie crosse; her serwantes, which nowe helde her vp by the armes, beinge amazed, shee comforted them, and because they altogether refused to conweie her to her death, which so much greiued them, or to be beholders of so terrible a tragedie, Sir Amias Paulet lent her two of his serwingemen to leade her to the place of execution; for thorowe longe lingeringe faintnes, and her dailie griewances, she was brought so lowe and weake, that shee was not able to go by her self; but yeet God gawe her a goodecourage and spirite till the laste gaspe and brethe.

The place of execution was in a greate parlour, in the middes wheroff a scaffold was sett vp, twelfe foote square and two foote heigh, spred ower with blacke cotton; towards the which her Maiestie mounted so nimble, that shee seemed to hawe no feare of death, neither ewer chainged shee her countenance; and now beinge come vp, shee rested her self a litle, and presentlie beginneth to speake to the officers of her cruell cusinge Elizabeth, entreatinge them to permitt her to hawe her Almoner to come to her, to comforte her in her God, and to receiue of him some comfortable instruction, together with the holie sacrament, before her departour out of this wale of misery. The Earle of Kent aunswered, that he was sorie for her to see her so much giuen to the superstitious of the times past, and that it wer better for her to carie

the crosse of Chrifte in hearte, not in her hande. To whome shee replied, that it was to litle purpose to carie such a obiekt in her hand, if the hearte wer not touched inwardlie with earnest motion and remembrance of his bitter death and passion which he suffered vpon the crosse for miserable mannes sinne, that died vpon the crosse. I thinke it, (saith shee,) a thinge most fitte for ewerie true Christian, to haue it to putt them in remembrance of ther redemption purchased by Chrifte, but speciallie they at that time, when death threatneth. But seeinge by no meanes shee could haue her Almoner, as was promised, shee made an other motion to them, that all her serwantes might be present to be eie witnesss of her constancie in true pietie; which, after shee had instantlie desired and promised that shee wold commaunde and enioine them silence, so that ther cryinges, weepinge and lamentatiouns should be no hinderance or truble to her in her death, they graunted her that two of her maides of honour should come; but one of them at her entrie in the place of execution, seeinge her deare mistres so forwardlie in preparatioun for the butchers handes, could not containe her selfe from weepinge and pitiefull mone, and fell doune as deade for a time, whome, when her mistres perceiued to haue recovered her senses, shee incontinent by a signe made to her by her finger vpon the mouth, enioined her silence; at the sighte of which shee forced her selfe to containe her lament. This done, the two maides together mount vp vpon the scaffolde to do ther mistres the last charitable service, and that with waterie eyes and sorrowefull heartes: they began to helpe her to take awaie her maske, her coiffe, and other ornamentes: but the shamelesse executioner could, by no entreatie her Maiestie could make, nor yeet rewarde, be mowed to withholde his helpinge handes; neither did anie of Elizabethes officers forbid him: for after her Maiesties gowne was stripte doune to the midle, he snatched her rudlie by the armes and pulled of her doublet, her fraite bodies, which wer lowe in the col-

lare, so that her neke beinge all naked, appeared to the spectatoures more white then snowe or alabafter. This done, the cruell butcher kneelethe doune, askinge her forgiwenes. "Do thy office in the name of God, thou art but an instrument; I forgiwe the with all my heart, and all others that be the authoures of my death, ewen with as goode will as I desire my owen sinnes to be forgiwen me at Goddes handes." Shee protested, likewise, in all the beholders prefence, that shee neuer had attempted anie thinge against the liffe or state of her cusinge, nor committed anie [thing] woorthie of blame, either for the owerthrowe of religion or the commone welthe. If they did impute her constancie in her religion as a faulte woorthie of deathe, lett them looke [to] it, who never had anie care to instruct and informe me otherwise, all the longe time of my tuentie yeares captiuitie. I hope shortlie to be in paradise with my deare Sauour, Iesus Christe, for whose obedience made for me I doubt not to shedde my bloode, ewen to the last drope. I counte my selff more happie now to die in a righte minde to end my miserie, then to liue longer induringe the daielie reproches of my ennemies, worse then a bitter death, then to attend anie longer till nature, thus faintinge, did finishe the course of her liffe, when shee should not be righte in her senses, and perfite remembrance of her duetie towards God and her neighbour. Shee saide, shee hoped in him, of whome that crosse shee caried in her hand put her in remembrance, and before whose feete shee prostrated her selff in soule and bodie, that he wold receiue her into eternal glorie. This temporall shee resigned vp hartelie to him that gaiwe. Shee protested, as before, in all the auditouris hearinge, that shee was innocentlie accused, charged and condemned of such thinges shee neuer thought on, and hoped the losse of this temporall liffe should be the passage, beginninge and entraunce to liffe eternall, with the holie angelles and the soules of blessed, that should recewe her soule and innocent bloode, and represent it before God, for a deduction of all her

finnes and offences. Shee besought them all to praie for [her], that God wold hear her, and that shee mighte obtaine grace and pardon.

These wer her praiers, beinge vpon her knees vpon the scaffold, prayinge also for the Pope, the kinges of Fraunce, Spaine, the Queene of England, and the Kinge of Scotland, her deare sonne, that God wold enlighten them all with his spirite, and direct them in the truth, and that he wold take pitie vpon his Church militant, and turne awaie his anger from the Isle of Greate Britanne, which shee did perceiue he threatned with scourges for the abominable, wilfull impietie committed by the inhabitantes. Shee thus likewise praied at her first entrie vpon the scaffold, and after reiterated the same thrie sewerall times: but the Deane of Peterborowe, Doctour Fletcher, did what he could to interrupt her, whome shee entreated not to truble her, for shee was fullie resolued howe to die, without anie counsell from him or anie of his sorte: he could giue her no forder contentment for her foule then shee had alredie, for shee did anker her on Christe; and for the people, they could giue her no forder conforte. This notwithstandinge, the Deane continued in his praiers, and shee proceeded likewise forward, prayinge in Latine, liftinge vp her voice aboue his so loude, that all being present did clearlie heare her. Shee had a golden crosse about her necke hawinge the image of our Sawiour, which, praier being ended, shee wold hawe giuen to one of her maides, but the butcher snatched at it, and wold not suffer her, albeit her Maiestie did earnestlie entreate, offeringe him that her maide should giue him thirfe the waloue of it, but no remedie: he wolde not lett her hawe it. All beinge redie, shee taketh her last fare weele of her maides, and kissed them courteslie, thankinge them for ther faithfull seruices, biddinge them adiewe, and bidde them retire themselwes quietly, giuinge them her last blessinge, and makinge the signe of the crosse ower them; but perceiwinge one of them could not holde, but burst foorth in teares, shee commaunded to holde her peace, and to keepe

silence, tellinge her shee had paste her promese that shee and the other maide should not be trublefome to her in her death : shee bid them boith retire themselwes soberlie, and to praie to God for her, now they could do her no more goode. This done, shee fell doune vpon her knees, without giwing the least signe or demonstratioun of discontent or feare of death : her constancie and boldnes of spirituall curage, her confidence and assurance of hope of recompence of eternall liffe, of God, in liewe and place of her momentanell afflictions, now to be enioyed of her, was such, that all the assistantes, yea, her hardest hearted ennemies, was greatly mowed ; and it was crediblie reported of manie that wer present, that amongest all the whole companie there was onlie two or thrie persons that coulde witholde weeping, they esteemed the spectacle so straunge : condemning these in ther conscience who wer the authouris of such an crueltie, which, in former times, they newer harde nor red of the like. She commendes finallie her soule to the tuition of the Almightye, in these woordes of the psalme, sayinge often and reiteratinge the woordes, “ *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum,*” and that with a loude voice, farre surmountinge the Dean in the eares of the assistantes.

In the meane while, the butcher gaiwe her a greate blowe with the axe, wherbye he pearced the stringes within her heade, which he stroake not of but at the thirde blowe, to make her martyrdome the more noble, albeit it weele is knowen that not the paine, or the punishment, but the cause maketh the martyre. After he had done, he hastelie snatcheth vp the heade in his hande, and shewing it to the assistantes, saide, “ God faiwe Queene Elizabeth, and so befall all the ennemies of the Gospell ;” althought ther wer no other that fawoured the Gospell, and that liwed as the Gospell directed but Elizabeth : but howsoever in outwarde shewe, shee made a cloake for her wicked liffe of the sacred Gospell, which therby shee prophaned, yeet if her liffe wer weighed in iuste and ewen balance, it should be founde (if all thinges wer clearlie knowen



and censured accordinglie,) shee should become behinde and be postponed this holie martyre by manie degrees. After, in derision and contempt, he pulled of her coiffe and shewed her white haire, with contemptuous woordes onworthie to be spoken or harde by the mouth or eares of anie Christian: He pointed also at the croune of her heade, to shewe it to the people, because it was newelie shawen, which shee was constrained to do by reason of a greivous rheume which trubled her often.

The tragedie ended, the poore maides, carefull of the honour of ther mistres, humbly besought and prayed Paulett the cruell jealousy, that the butcher might have no more ado with ther Soveraigne ladies bodie, and that it might be permitted them to disfigure her bodie when all the people were departed the place, that no further indignitie might be offered her sacred Maiesties corpes, feigning all malice, hatred, envie, and contempt of the deade ought to end after ther deceasse; they promised him her apparell, and all that was about her, and whatsoever besides he would demaunde in reason, so that he would not anie more come neare or handle her sacred bodie. But cursed Cerberus, Paulet I meane, commaundeth them verie rudly to departe the chamber; lewinge his hellhounds with the corpes to do with what he would: he presently pulleth of her shoes and all the rest of her apparell, which as yet was left about her bodie, and after, when he had done what he would, the corpes was caried into a chamber nexte adjoininge, fearinge the faide maides should come to do anie charitable good office. It did increase greivously ther desire so to do after they did see ther mistres corpes thorow a litle hole of the chamber walle, which [was] covered with cloath, but the wofull corpes was kepte a long time in this chamber till it beganne to corrupte and smelle strongly, so that in the end they were constrained to salt it, and to embalm lightlie to save charges, and after to wrapt it up in a cacke of leade, keepinge it seaven monethes ther before it was entered at Peterborowe, where also Catharine of Spaine laie buried

before. Laste of all there was a hearste sett ower her tombe, after a simple maner in regarde of her degrie, and it was cowerd with blake welwott, which after Mr Deane of Peterborowe either stole, or caussed to be stollen, of in the nighte season, to make him a cassoke or vpper garment, as they call it, which after did him greate serwice, beinge elected Bishoppe of London, when he went a wooinge to my ladie his mistres, who after made him weare broade harnes, as shee had done her firste husbände before him. He was werie busie at her Maiesties execution, that shee wold saiwe her soule, and be adwised by him howe shee might do it ; but not longe after he committeth abominable sacriledge in the hieste degrie, shamelesse thifte in robinge the deade, or at leaste is accessorie to boith, and in the end fearfull periurie : for it [is] weeles knowen howe when Elizabeth his mistres, hawinge harde that he was about the mariage of his mistres ladie, a famous woman for a comoune strumpett, tolde him of it, and discharged him to come anie more in her companie : The honest man, to satisfie Elizabeth, made greate protestatiouns with an othe, that he wold neuer come anie more at her enteringe at her dore, but the honest mannes inordinat motions did not permitt him to be so goode as his woorde, and therefore to cullour his promise and oth, he caussed a greate windoe of his house at Culham to be made a dore, and a hie staire of stone to be builded vp harde to the windoe newlie changed into a dore, by the which he entered to his ladie mistres, whome, for this purpose, he caussed secretlie to be brought thither, and after he had keepte companie with her a longe time, in the end he married her. Such a care had this conscionable man of the saluation of others, that he altogether becommeth forgetfull of his owen.

But to returne to our historie : Ther be some Englishe that hawe, in ther owen language, sett foorth this execution, together with the causes which mowed ther mistres to this crueltye, some so farre fetched and vnlike to be true and altogether false, that he must needes be werie simple

and senses, if he can suffer him self to be led awaie so farre astraine from commone sense and reason as to belive them. But howsoever they painefullie labour to go about to disguise the mater; yett onawarfe to discower trulie some parte of the mater, to wit, the desire of revengewhich Elizabeth ever bore Q. Marie in her hearte, for the armes and scutchion of England, which after her mariage with the Dolphin of Fraunce, shee caused be quartered with her owen. This was the cheiffe cause of the cruell murder of her innocent cufinge, howsoever shee go about to impose vpon her manie other designs which should hawe mowed her to deale so vnkindlie with her; an other cause mowed her to this parricide was the smalle meanes shee had to frustrate the noble house of Scotland of the croune of England, so longe as boith this Queene and her sonne liwed, and the opinion that shee had that, if the mother wer first made out of the waie, whome shee could neuer by anie meanes [get] to resigne her title in her handes, it might be a esie mater for her to compasse the sonne in her clawes by the meanes of her dewilish angelles, who hawe power to woorke greate wonders in the Scottishe climate.

The foirlaid wretes, amongst other thinges, recorde, that the apparell of the deade Queene was taken from the butcher, and the waloue theroff was payed him in moneye; and that her roiale habites, her ornamentes, the welwott and the cowering of the scaffolde was washed cleane, least it should be stained with her bloode, and after folde. By this we maie plainlie and manifestlie vnderstande the honourable maner of proceedinge used against this goode Queene, boith whill shee was yett aliue in ther handes, and nowe deade. Except [they] had plaide the parte of the cruell canniballes, who feede vpon mennes fleshe, they could do no more: we see what regarde they hawe to the honour of [a] sacred anointed Queene. We hawe seene noblemen, gentlemen and others condemned to die for treason and rebellion against ther mistres, that neuer did see the butcher with ther eies before ther death; he was

newer suffered to touch them with his handes, but efter ther eyes wer closed and cowered, he mounted the scaffold and gaiwe them deathes blowe, and so departed : they wer in no waies to be compared with this renouned ladie. Ther mistres made regarde be had of ther persounes, albeit they wer condemned of treason, because they wer gentlemen and men of marke. This ladie was not so: all proceedinges against her was flatte contrarie to the lawe of God and natiounes. Elizabeth was not superiour to her : yeet her crueltie was such against her, that, for the right of her croune after her, shee caused most barbarouslie be assassinated and murdered by the handes of a most infamous butcherlie willaine ; and which is more, after her death, wold not suffer that anie other besides this abiect amongst men, no, not a man but a cruell sawage beaste, should come neare her sacred person ; but he disatired the corpes of the ornamentes, he stripped of her garmentes in presence of the people, leawinge it all naked in contempt and disdaine.

This monster of men, hawinge no thinge of a man but onlie the outward shape, to make the renouned ladies martyrdomme more honourable to all future ages to be recorded, most cruellie with manie blowes butchered the sacred corpes : whose beutie, curage, vitte, vnderstandinge, singular vertues and constancie wold hawe mowed the most sawage amongst the canniballes, if shee had hapned to flie so farre as to them for succoure and aide, beinge destitute and leste desolate. Yea, the onlie name of a .Queene, and her manie rare princelie qualities wold hawe rawished them, and so astonished them that they could not hawe putt ther hand to wiolat her sacred person, either beinge yeet aliue or nowe deade. It is recorded that the canniballes eate mennes flesh, and the Scythians drinke mennes bloode, but this was longe since in a rooder and a more sawage and barbarous time and age, and nowe are become more humane and ciwile ; but the Englishe ewen nowe, in the cleare beamesonne and sonnebeame lighte of the holie gospels, bringe forth

such fruites, that they make the sacred name of God and his truth to be blasphemed and prophaned amongst the nationes. They shewe themselves more sawage and cruell towards this ladie, then ewer we reade anie canniball or Scythian did exercise ther sawage beaſtie crueltie againſt anie that ewer had the ſhape and forme of a man; for the one doeth but eate mannes fleſhe, and other drinke ther bloode, neither do they anie more harme to ther bodie beinge deade, but the ſawage Engliſhe, more brutiſhe and ſawage then the moſt ſawage brutiſh beaſt we can reade, do all thoſe cruelties. Hearken, O Heawen, and heare O earth, if anie ſuch thinge hath beene done in our time, or in our fathers time before us! This curſed daughter of Lycaon, in violatinge all righte of hoſpitalitie, cannot be touched with anie humane affection towards her neareſt kinnifwoman. Allace, what ſaide I? Shee was more cruell then ewer was Lycaona his daughter: he did eate his gueſtes the daie or the morowe after he had ludged them, he ſuffered them not to pine awaie and linger in preſon by him; he ſuffered not anie to abuſe them, he neuer in crueltie abuſed his owen kinred, neither did he kille them to feede vpon, not in his greateſt diſtreſſe of famine: he neuer murdered anie to whome he gawe his promeſe to the contrarie, nor thoſe to whome he had ſworne to keepe friendſhipe vnto, no, not thoſe whome he neuer harde of nor ſawe before, when they did flie vnto him in ther aduerſitie. It is reported that the white mores, who eate mennes fleſhe, will neuer kille anie they ewer knewe before for foode, no, althought they ſhould die and famiſhe: they onlie take ſtrangers whome they neuer knewe before, and ſo longe as they keepe them aliue, they wante no thinge that they deſire, but hawe all thinges that maie content them; but this they do to fatte them againſt the daie of ſlaughter. But this monſter of all womankinde by manie degries ſurpaſſeth all them whome before I hawe mentioned in crueltie. This tygreſſe, transported with rage and furie, after ſhee had made a league with her neareſt kinnifwo-

man, and sworne amitie and freindshipe with her, to indure so longe as they should boith liue, yea, after shee had invited her into her realme by her hand wrettin letters, by her ambassadoures, by guiftes, by presentes, seeinge her in aduersitie, and forced to flie her natie cuntrie, seekinge for aide and succour at her handes, against her faith and promise, deteines her prisoner, and putteth her in a cage for the space of tuintie longe yeares: althought after shee had comed in realme by her hand wrote, shee promised faithfullie shee wold conweie her home againe as farre as the frontiers, and sett her free in her kingedome. I can not omitt howe shee sent this ladie a diamonde in a token, which should ewer after be a pledge of her promised faith to her, wishinge her to send it to her if anie harde distresse should befall her, and shee should be sure to haue her to do the best shee could for her as for her self; which diamond the distressed ladie sent her immediatlie before her death, but no promise was keepte, so faithfull was shee and conscionable in keepinge of her oth. But this was usuall with her; for the like shee did to Effex and others, whome all shee forfooke in ther aduersitie. Did not this faithlesse woman, by the adwise of her councell, immediatlie before they putt the mother to death, make a sure league of freindshipe and amitie with the sonne, and all the freindshipe he did finde by the newe league, that not longe after it was sworne vpon boith the partes, they stroake of the mothers heade? O heauen, whie sweates thou not? O earth, whie openes not thou thy mouth, and swallowest vp from the fighte of the sonne and lighte of the moone, such shamelesse, periured willanes? This cruell woman hath weeke resembled all the goode qualities of boith her parentes: shee hath comed behind them in no thinge, but rather hath farre surmounted them boith, all her liffe: this her impietie, ambition, crueltie, leacherie, hypocrisie, dissimulatioun, treacherie, anger, hatred, malice irreconcilable, treacherie, ingratitude, her wengeance, implacabilitie, crafte, subtiltie to deceiue, and other infinite qualities of

like forte, wherewith shee was so richlie adorned, that shee hath plainlie shewen to the world that her talent was not hidden vnder the earth, but shee had putt it foorth to make some encrease and profite.

But to leawe this discourse, which will not please her nor her factious ones, let us returne to the ordinances of her estates, and lett us see and consider whether shee could subiect the Queene of Scottes, a prince as much, or more frie, then her selff. Shee neuer helde anie thinge of her, or of anie belonging to her. Did not this renowned ladie ewer exempt her selff from her, and all shee putt in authoritie vnder her, and so from her, to make anie leaste motion of subiection? Shee made no account of ther iudgementes and opinions when ther was anie thinge intreated that concerned her selff in this point: Of this minde was Elizabeth in the resolution shee tooke against the adwise of her estates, which shee had assembled in the moneth of October 1566, where it was accorded by comoune consent of all, that they wolde not intreate of anie matter till shee had named a succeffoure to the croune of England, to meete the troubles which beganne to arise within the realme by the carriages and plottes of them that aspired therunto, and proposed then ther titles. Shee commaunded them to passe on forder, telling them that ther resolutions could take no effect contrarie to her will, which they wer forced to do after that shee had reproched them, tellinge them that they wold make her graiue before her death. How much lesse, then, could it be possible for her, or her subiectes, to giue anie order or resolution for the subiection of a Prince not inferiour, but rather superiour to her and her subiectes, who had no thinge to do with her? We see, as Elizabeth could not abide to subiect her selff in anie thinge to her owen subiectes besides her goode, no more could this goode ladie endure to abandon her selff to Elizabeth, or to anie resolution accorded vpon by her and her estates, against the frie libertie of a frie Prince.

It is a matter without all controuersie, that no perswasions nor threat-

ninges coulde ewer mowe this goode ladie to demitt anie waies her righte to anie other, or aknowledge anie other to hawe anie righte to controlle her in the leaft thinge that might, in anie one pointe, hawe a cullour to her preiudice. Who can blame her for manteninge the soweraignitie and honour that God had preordinate her vnto? Shee maintained her righte by lafull meanes. But Elizabeth, and her fater before her, whatsoewer they pleased to hawe done by her subiectes, ewen althought it wer vnlafull, no man durste be so bolde to contradicte them: so wiolent in all ther courtes were they, if anie goode man did contrare them, presentlie he was ride out of the waie, as shee did this goode Queene, because shee wold neuer agrie to her and her counsell that shee wold become her waffale. By what meanes wold shee binde the Queene of Scottes to indure that of her, which shee could neuer indure in her owen subiectes? By what reason will shee binde the Queene of Scottes to subiection, that was a frie Kinges daughter, and a frie Queene her self? I knowe weelee you will aunswere me, that anie person, althought it be a frie Prince, that committeth a crime within the realme of an other, contracteth secretlie with that Prince of that realme where such facte is done to be his subiect, to be ordoured by his lawes. To the which, first, it is aunswered, that neither this lawe nor the Roman lawe, *Quæ in provincia*, nor anie other, the like coulde be vnderstoode of Princes, who could not be subiect to ther lawes, nor anie other, beinge Soweraignes them selwes. Secondlie, I saie, this ladie was neuer in Elizabethes realme vnder her protection, which is a impudent lie, maintained in the publication of [the] dewilishe sentence giuen by her estates, but was tyrannicallie and most barbarouslie deteined against her minde, against the lawe of God and all natiounes. I saie, then, that the Queene of Scottes could not by anie reson be subiect to Elizabethes lawes, shee beinge a frie Queene, borne without her dominions, and cominge within her realme seekinge aide and succour, and beinge in steade of supplie,



beinge, by force and violence, detained against her goode likinge and minde; yea, althought shee had sojourned ther with goode contentment, and had committed a crime woorthie of death, yeet Elizabeth and her estates could take no knoweledge of her affaires, who had no other superioure abowe her but the greate God of heawen and earth: shee could not, with the counsell of her subiectes, uise anie iurisdiction vpon her liffe and honour. I denie, likewise, that shee committed anie crime there; and saie, that that which they obiekt against her is a cruell imposture and a dewised accusatioun, and farre fetched, to giue a cullour and shewe to iustice, and to the tyrannie of this cruell wolffe; for howe could it be possible, and to conspire with her ennemies to her preiudice, beinge so freightlie detained, that not so much as the faithfulest of her serwantes could haue acceffe to her? How could it be, that shee could haue communicatioun with them who wer presoners asweele as shee? It wilbe saide, shee had intelligence with the Catholiques of England: howe could that be, shee neither beinge acquainted with them, nor yeet hawinge anie thinge to communicat with them? Shee must, of necessitie, haue some interpretour, some negotiatour, some intercessoure, or meanes to go betweene her and them: but where ar they, or who wer they? Her Secretaries letters written to Babington, wer discowered and showen: but who did see them? wer they written or subscribed with her hand, and signed with her seale of armes? Tell me that, I praie you: You shall neuer be able to prowe it; and althought yeet they be simple and poore meanes to effectuate the thinge you charge her with, and bringe to the full vps hott such a weightie enterprise, fithence ther was no thinge but paper that could speake. What was written in these letters you alledge? the deliwerie of the Queene of Scottes out of preson. I aske you againe, wer they all writen and signed with her hand? No, no. But giwing and grauntinge they had beene, was this a goode and conleionable cause to putt her [to] death, who had so often protested by her

letters to Elizabeth, that shee wold neuer do anie thinge to the preiudice of her so longe as shee liued? If the Catholiques of England did worke, plotte, or do anie other thinge in fawour of her then her deliwerance, what coulde shee do withall? Shee knewe no thinge of it, much lesse consented to ther designs. It will be saide in this, they wer her ennemies, and not her goode freindes: You will urge me, her complices, and such as wer accessarie to the intended designs, wer putt to death, by whose consciences shee was also charged. It is plainlie and manifestlie knowne the contrarie, there was neuer that charged her thus: and we charge you, in the name of the ewerliuinge God, to make this evident by ther true depositions in the fighte and hearinge of forren Princes, and they shall thinke them selwes much beholden to you, who wer her sworne ennemies; but ther was neuer anie such thinge, neither shall you ewer be able to prove it, for all your spite. There was neuer anie so shamelesse to awouch such horrible inuentiounes but you your selwes, who have ewer shoven your selwes her mortall ennemies: yea, I will saie forder, that ther was some of you her false accusers, judges and condemners, whose consciences can testifie the contrarie to your allegatiounes, whatsoever you have counterfootlie for a cullour caused to be written in these mennes depositions to cower your tyrannie; you shall neuer be able to shewe anie paper hawinge ther true depositions subscribed with ther handes, containinge anie such mater as you alledge.

Althought your mistres by your councell, ewer since shee bare the swaie in England, hath ewer lauboured to sturre vp treasouns, rebellious and what treacherie shee could worke, against this ladie when shee was in full authoritie in her kingedome, till the end shee and you, what by forsworne promefes, what by subtiltie, peece and peece, you broughte her in your clawes, and nowe to her sorrowfull end. What coulde Elizabeth alledge against this ladie, her nearest kinnifwoman, whie shee should thinke her woorthie of death? No thinge, but a false, infamous

libell full of lies, made by her wicked associates, who hawe ewer beene this ladies spitefull ennemies, and hawe counselled to all treacherie, could be harde of or inwented. It is weeke knowen who shee and they hawe rigged foorth the ther shippes to sea in time of league sworne by her to Scotland, and, vnder cullour of freindshipe, hawe done more harme to Scotland in two years abroad, robbinge 224 shippes, as they could be compassed by flighte, and at odde corners, nor ewer shee and her auncestours wer able to do in open warre. Ther legendes of lies, ther chronicles weeke testifieth, howe by lande one armie after an other was sent in Scotland, vnder a pretence to aide this ladies younge sonne against his ennemies, when, in werie deede, they did do no thinge elles but robe the south parte of that kingedome, and throwe doune the castles and stronge holdes, ther to prepare a waie to a forder conquest of all, and did no thinge elles but aide and supporte this goode ladies ennemies and her sonnes, who culloured ther cruell robberies vnder the name of authoritie of that younge Prince, who, I hope, one daie will awenge all the cruelties done by such treacherous subiectes, done, I saie, against his deare mother and him, and depredatiouns and spoiles committed against his loiale, true hearted freindes; as its weeke knowen the greate God partlie had awenged all these thinges, and partlie made this goode Prince his instrument to take wengeance and to punishe such cruell tyrannie, in the most of them that wer either authoures, cauffers, assistantes, or in anie waies accessaries therunto. Thirdlie, I saie flatlie, that all this proceedinge against this ladie, which they account so honourable, is not onlie against the lawe of God and natiounes, but also directlie against the true meaninge of the lawe of England municipall, which hath ewer vnto him beene generallie obserwed: it appointeth that the processe against criminalles be examined, tried and iudged by ther equalles of the like qualitie and degrie, beinge xii in number at the least. Hawe you assembled together xii Queenes of fewerall kingedomes, in

England, or xii foweraignes prizes to the Queene of Scottes and Dourier of Fraunce? It is an onharde and strange priwiledge you hawe assumed and used in regarde of the renounned dignitie of such a Queene as she was.

Last of all, I saie, albeit this renounned Queene had conspired against the liffe and state of Elizabeth, because she had used her so hardlie for the space of tuintie yeares, against her othe and fidelitie promised her, yeet hawinge in acte done no thinge, shee could not much be blamed in humane sense and reason, shee hawinge so tyrannoullie used her: the lawe of nature might excuse her, which is not onlie approved by the lawes grauntinge manie thinges, as saith Seneca, which honestie, faith, pietie and religion do not permitte. The philosophers saie, that all nature is a conferwer of her selff, and in this respect forceth it selff not onlie to desire and followe that which is profitable and available for it, but also to flie that which is hurtfull and noisome, and to defend it selff by all meanes from it. The ordinances of the aun-cient Emperours and ciwile lawe founded vpon this maxime of nature, permitt to repulse force by contrarie force, and to saive and defend the bodie from violence and iniurie, and redeeme bloode by what meanes soewer, for ewerie meanes is honest to procure our saistie. The comoune lawe permitteth to a priwat man to resist the force and iniurie of a iudge, it beinge irrecowerable. Then by howe much greater reason may a foweraigne Prince repell by all possible meanes her tyrannicall dealinge, that by the lawe of God and nature hath nothing to do with her, and hath no authoritie or commande ower her. If shee had permitted her to depart her realme when, beinge invited, shee came to seeke refuge at her handes, such thinges had neuer come in controuersie: shee neuer craiued anie thinge of Elizabeth but her libertie. The brutishe creatoures and birdes, thought you deale neuer so mildlie with them, yeet, beinge kepte in a cage, they will striue to breke it, and to take the libertie of the aire abroad: how much more ought and should

reasonable man and woman seeke the same libertie, and so much more  
a frie borne foweraigne Prince !

Thought Pandions issue hawe no want in cawe,  
Yeet striwe they forrestes freedome to hawe.

I maie perhappes be urged with the olde songe, that the lawe of nature  
permitteth not to addresse our selwes towards our Prince or magistrate,  
for this cause, who should not for anie cause be violated, notwithstandinge  
howe iuste soewer it be. It is impudentlie also alledged, that the Kinges  
of Scotland be waffalles and subiectes to the Kings of England, and they,  
with ther subiectes, hawe acknowledged the Kinges of England for ther  
laufull superiours.

Baldus, the greates Romane lawer, saith, that the people prescribe  
ther libertie against the prince in a hundreth yeares. I am sure it is  
thrie hundreth yeares since that the English pretended anie title of  
righte of Scotland, and that they neuer could pretend anie righte by  
anie iuste lawe or title. Me thinkes, nowe I hawe harde in this foirsaide  
alledgeance of this superioritie, the historie of the tries of newe againe  
rewiued, which was thus. The tries went about to chuse them a kinge.  
The elme, the figge trie, and the wine refused, (and could not leawe to  
be fruitfull in yeeldinge and bringinge foorth the fruites, they wold not  
abandon ther licour, which did conforte boith God and man,) to com-  
maunde other tries : but the brier, which is no true trie, but rather a  
bastarde plante and shrube, became so ambitious that it accepted of the  
empire, and saide vnto them thus : If in goode meaninge, without fraude  
or deceite, you shall appoint me your kinge, and repose your selwes  
vnder my shaddowe, I wilbe your kinge ; but if you refuse to do it, let  
ther issue a fire out of the breire to burne all the tries of Libanus. I  
did not thinke, that thou Elizabeth wold hawe shoven thy self so shame-  
lesse, (howesoewer in all other thy actions thou had harden thy face to

become impudent before the world,) as to pretend anie right to the crowne of Scotland : Did thou not alwaies deale with this ladie, that shee wold make the ower her iuste right and title theroff ; which shee could neuer abide to heare the least motion of, either by thy wretes, or by thy ambassadoures whome thou and thy counsell apointed to deale with her in this point, which, because shee wold neuer agrie vnto, thou forged other false accusatiounes against her, to bringe her to her dolefull end. But this was the onlie and true cause of her death, as all indifferent maie weele coniecture, and in so much as thou canst not affixe vnto it accordinglye, beinge a brier and a shrube, neuer hawinge brought forth anie goode fruite, pleasinge God or goode men, vncapable and unworthie of anie kingedome ; not onlie by reason of thy barrennes, in bringinge forth of goode fruites in thy actions and desertes, but also for thy bastardie, in regarde wheroff thy owen naturall father Henrie 8. and all his estates assembled in open Parliament, disabled the to hawe anie crowne or Soveraigntie in thy handes : but then resembling too much him ambitiouslie hast aspired against his minde, by helpe and aide of those to whome ewer since thou hast prostitute thy selff, to be his lawfull heire, as an vnfruitfull breire causdest a fire to issue out of the to consume the tall cedars of Libanus. Thowe beinge a fruitles brier, not growinge in a fertile soile, but in a barren hedge, hast kindled a fire of malicious treacherie, and forced cavillation, to burne and putt to deathe thy lawfull Soveraigne, princes of all the kingdomes and dominions which thou, against right and reason, hast usurped, besides that shee is an heretrix of a crowne more auncient, honourable and famouslie renowned then ewer thy auncestoures could commaunde or peaceablie enioye : thou beinge a barren shrube nothinge regarded, most like vnto the brere, hast staied the comfortable oile and wine, which did issue from that goodlie wine trie, oliue tree, and fruites of the figge, to the greate comforte of manie a distressed soule.

Shee richlie was adorned with the sweete fruite of the figge trie, with the comfortable licour of the pleasant oliue and chearfull wine, which as a riuer did dewid them felwes as streames to the releiue of manie a true Chrifitian, whome thoue robbed and made harbourles. Beinge as thou arte a wilde brere without frute, and yeeldinge not anie thinge elles but drie or withered leawes, that is bastardes and adulterous iffue, which thou darre not be bolde to awouch to be thine for publict infamie and shame of the world, by what right will thou pretend to aspire to the Soweragnitie of fo famous and auncient a kingdome? Thou maie and will aunfwere me, thou maie fo do, pretendinge some clame of righte from one as treacherous and subtile as thy selff, Edwarde Longeshankes, or, as the French do name, Edwarde Longe Jambes; he beinge desirous to rule the whole Islande, dewised manie plottes for this purpose, but thou art so shameles thou will newer blushe for anie of ther willanies that maie be laide in thy dishe. But to come to the mater full of willanie done by this Edwarde: Kinge Alexander of Scotland deceffinge by the fall of his horse, without heires male of his bodie, ther did arise two competitouris of the croune of that realme, which wer Robert Bruce and John Baliol, who did striue for the right a long time; at last fearinge the greate difordour was like to followe amongst the subiectes for this cause, and the ruine of the comoune people who did partie boith, they wer aduised in the end to putt the mater to compromise, and tooke Edwarde Longeshankes, ther neighboure kinge, to be equall arbitratour and compositor of the mater, thinkinge he wold deale indifferentlie; but he, beinge glade of the occasion offered, lauboured by all meanes possible to make the mater more doubtfull then it was, and to seeke the meanes to gratifie him whose parte was the stronger of the two, he made the mater to be consulted vpon boith in England and Fraunce, he propounded the mater diuerslie to the councell, and he was by them diuerslie aduised, so that the diuision did depend vpon his

good will to fawoure him whome he best pleased and liked ; and seeinge the title of Robert Bruce to [be] too manifest and ewident, as hawinge right from the issue male, and John Baliol had his clame onlie by the female, he earnestlie desired to winne the saide Robert to court, by that which he did desire for preferringe himselff to the Soweraigntie of that realme, and therefore he addrested him selff to him, and telleth him that he that wold be kinge must acknowledge him for his superiour, and promese to holde his scepter of him ; and if he wold accept of this condition, he wolde make him kinge, and mantaine his righte against all whatsoewer. But Robert Bruce, beinge a man of a curagious and bolde spirite, aunswered deliberatlie, that he wold not, nor could, sell the right of his nativie cuntrie, and corrupt the lawes of the croune, and that he could not be a kinge who wold acknowledge anie superioure abowe him, except God alone.

The Englishe perceiwinge him selff frustrat of his attempt on this part, he changeth his course, proposinge the same conditions to the other competitour John Baliol, which wer no sooner propounded, but they wer accepted, and by this meanes was he declared kinge by Edward besides conscience, right and all reason, and he did homage to him, promisinge to holde his croune of him as his superiour. Wherupon followed sharpe and hoate warre betuine the two kingedomes ; and Baliol, beinge putt to the worfe, was driwen to forsake his newe kinglie title, he deprived by the nobilitie of the croune, and Robert Bruce was placed in his owen righte, he beinge the nearest lafull heir to the late deceased kinge Alexander.

So Edward, hawinge plaied the false, treacherous Judas, mantained the vnlaull title so longe as he liwed, makinge him selff by force to be acknowledged for superiour by the most of Baliolles freindes and factioun, and such others as feared his tyrannie, and did what he could to bringe to a province, placinge his garrisons and liwetenantes throwe the most of the shires and regiounes theroff ; he transported the fatall chaire of marble, the most auncient monument of Europe, wherin all the Kinges



before time wer crowned ; he tooke awaie all the antiquities, defacinge the knowen notes and signes of honoure of that kingedome, not sparinge the churches and auncient monumentes of the kinges and nobilitie of that kingedome. But this furious tyrannie continowed not longe ; for Kinge Robert beinge placed in his righte, chased him quicklie out of Scotlande, and sett the whole realme in the olde libertie of a frie kingedome, since which time neither shee, nor her auncestoures, could ewer enioye so much [as] one smalle province there one whole yeare together, althought they hawe often attempted the same to ther shame, besides the losse of manie hundreth thoulande of ther subiectes. Wherbye we maie weelee perceiwe that Queene Marie could in no reason be assubiected to Elizabeth, feinge all her auncestoures wer frie kinges, and shee her self a frie soweraigne Prince, borne in the onlie heire of her father, Kinge James the fiste, a more renouned woorthie kinge than ewer was of anie her auncestoures, or rather predeceffouris, so often conquered and chaunged, yea, altogether dispossessed of ther kingedome. Shee was newer woorthie to be compared with this ladie, who, in wertue and guiftes of nature, was not onlie her superiour, but also her mistres in the soweragnitie of the kingedome of Englande, if iustice and righte might hawe had place. I wold willinglie learne by what lawe could they pretend to assubiect this ladie to Elizabethes subiectes and estates ? What forme of proceffe could the leade against her to putt her to death ? The like practise was newer harde, except they will saie, as the miscreant Jewes saide against our Sauour, We hawe a lawe, and by our lawe shee shall die. But let us come summarlie to the facte, and breiflie repeate it, that we maie see if we can finde anie cause which maie excuse Elizabeth, and mollifie the cruell indignitie of the assassinatioun and murder, so barbaroullie committed vpon the sacred persone of sua woorthie a princeffe.

Marie, Queene of Scottes, feinge the tyrannie of her base brother,

that, by the meanes of Queene Elizabeth, had taken her roiale ſcepter, (by force of armes, ſupported by her ennemies,) out of her hands, and inwaded, (makinge a ſhewe for the defence of her younge ſonne, then a childè,) the whole realme, poſſeſſinge him ſelfe theroff, ſhee is ſo cruellie followed and purſued of him, that ſhee is forced to forſake her croune and natiue cuntry, for a praiſe to this mannes crueltie to leaue it. But ſhee knewe not ſo perſitlie, as ſince ſhee did, of Elizabethes double dealinge. Shee, thinkinge that Elizabeth, her neareſt kinnifwoman, wolde keepe touches with her, as ſhee had promeſed, in her laſt diſtreſſeeth for ſuccoure to her, bearinge with her a faiffe conduct, and throweth her ſelfe in her armes, thinkinge ſhee might be ſaiweſt with her, they beinge ſo neare cuſinges: ſhee hopeth for aide and aſſiſtance from her, to help her in her righte againſt her ennemies, by reaſon of ther conſanguinitie, amitie and league of confederacie, which was conſermed betuine them by ambaffage, priuie and ſecrete letters, and manie other interchangable markes and enſignes ſent reciprocallie from ather to other, and ſpeciall promeſſe by obligatioun of woordes. This to be true, it is manifeſt by the diamonde in forme of a hearte, (wherof Buchanan, his miſtreſ ſpitefull ennemie, maketh mention in his Epigrammes,) which was often ſent betuine them. But yeet, notwithstandinge, all this is quicklie forgotten, and albeit ewerie ſuppliant and hoſte be ſent from Juppiter, (as Homer alledgeth,) ſhee no ſooner arriweth in England but ſhee is arreſted, kepte as a preſoner, committed to the handes of her principall ennemies, the beleaged confederates of her owen rebellis, which ar foorthwith bribed, and richlie rewarded to accuſe her of her hufbandes death, beinge weeſe informed and inſtructed before of all they ſhould ſaie or do in the buſineſ by Elizabethes counsell, with faire promeſes of greate recompence for ther paines. In the end, the accuſars malice beinge diſcowerd, for that they had fallſie and calumniouſlie accuſed ther ladie and miſtreſ of that cruell facte and crime, wheroff them ſelwes wer the authoures, ſhee, notwith-

standinge, was more sharplie and rigoroullie handled then before, yea, and those that did speake anie one woorde in her fawour, for the truth against her traiterouse accusars, wer wexed by all meanes possible, howe greate Lordes soewer they wer, yea, ewen to the losse of ther liwes and goodea. Nowe, Elizabeth and Leicesters freindes, perceawinge ther intentione litle sett forwarde or furthered by this ther pretence, vnder a vizare and cullour of seekinge iustice, they intruded them selwes to be busie in the emprefoned Queenes kitchen, by ther agentes bringinge thither false counterfoote drogges and wares out of Circes shope, to hawe giwen her an Italian figge, or possiet, as they call it, to hawe ride her out of the waie ; which thinge had no goode successe by Goddes divine providence. So boith the foirsaide enterprife fealinge them, they caste about an other waie to compasse the sonne, as they had alredie gotten the mother in ther clawes : they did omitt no thinge of that which they could, or wer able to do, to corrupte those which had the childe in ther keepinge, who wer forwarde enough in this busines, if some malecontentes that fawoured the mother had not hindered ther treacherous designses, so that the Jovinian infant and golden issue of the mother, by the especiall protection of God, escaped the handes of the ennemies of his lowinge mother ; and this is the occasion of ther furious and angrie rage, seekinge ewer to rewenge themselwes of her whome they had catched in ther handes, and when they perceiued that the younge kinge, nowe cominge to the yeares of knowledge and discretion, beganne to enquire who they wer that had murdered his father, and defamed his mother shameleslie of the cruell facte, wheroff they wer the dewisers and executouris themselwes, and that, after notice trulie taken by his Maiestie, learninge that James Douglas, his protectour, was one of the principall, he, puttinge him to the triale of his peeres, was founde guiltie, and accordinglie executed to death for his treasonable designses.

Elizabeth, I saie, seeinge her righte eie put out, shee addressees her self

to awenge her self of the captiue Queene; alledgine that shee should be the sollicitour and fether forwarde of this busines: Howe soone shee heares of Douglas captiuitie, shee sendes an armie to the frontiers to threaten warre if he wer not sett free. But no threates could helpe: he is putt to death, as he iustlie deserued; which, when shee harde of, by the adwise of her councell shee dissembleth the mater, partlie because shee was in league with the younge kinge, which, to breke, wolde be thought most dishonourable for her, in regarde he was conuict and adjudged to die for treason; and partlie, because shee hawinge her in her handes whom shee thought to be the causer of his death, shee mighte, when shee wold, awenge her malice vpon her, as in time shee did to the full. This purpose did like her weele; and so they proceede, for the space of fixe or seauen yeares, to laie trappes and stretch forth the nettes to catche the innocent ladie. They betake them selues all this while to putt papistes to death, some iustlie, and other some most innocentlie; and in the end, to make this distressed ladie the more odious, it is blasfmed abroad by ther agentes that the Queene of Scottes had intelligence with them whome shee neuer did speake with, see, or harde of, her strait keepinge was such, that no not her owen serwantes could come to her presence, nor anie other, but when ther agentes or them selues, in whose custodie shee was. Consider, I praie you, howe this maie go for current, that this ladie could gett anie to deale for her in such weightie maters as shee is charged with, shee beinge so diligentlie attended that shee could do no thinge but by ther goode likinge and sufferance: howe, I praie you, can these two hange together? Yeet, shee muste needes conspire against Elizabeth and the state: shee must needes haue intelligence with the catholiques of England in all ther treacherous designs: Elizabeth can not be secured of her liffe, nor the estate preserved, so longe as this ladie is reserved aliue; and therefore with toothe and naile, all delaie sett aparte, they addresse themselves to put her to

death; and for the better bringinge of ther purpofe about, there is a Parliament called, a lawe of ther owen is made, or rather, as it maie be better called, a particular priwiledge, againft the Queene of Scottes, is fuggefted; it is ratifeed, and approwed as current by Elizabeth, by the fuggeftion of her greate nightlie freinde, Leicefter. This priwiledge and ordinance, onworthie of the name of a lawe, is keepte fecret, without anie fpeech of it for the fpace of a whole yeare after it was made.

Then her freinde Leicefter, (if fo I maie name him, without offence done to Sir Chriftophere Chattam, her houfkeeper, who after became as greate a freinde to her as he,) is fent for to come home; for without him could fhee do no thinge, neither durfte her eftates be bolde to attempte anie thinge without his adwife, he was fo cunninge and weeel befene in poifoninge: who, after he had managed his miftres afaires to her and his owen fhame, in the Lowe Countries, transported with rage and furie, returneth to his miftres: he complaineth of his harde fortune, and alleageth to her that the Queene of Scottes was the cauffe of the manifolde loffes he had abroad in his warres, when as rather his feble, cowardifhe spirite, that could not abide to ftande before the face of the ennemie in oppen felde in batle, was the fole emergent caufe of all his miffortunes in warre, as his foioures can weeel witnes: but the Earle of Darbie faide flatlie, he fuffered him felf for feare to be bribed of the ennemie, and his foioures throates to be cutte. Then they beganne to awenge Leicefters quarrell on her, amongeft the reft of ther forged, pretended accusatiouns, which they had dewifed to accufe this poore, diftreffed ladie of; and thus they proceede, as afore hand they laide ther treacherous plottes, beginninge by the meanes of one Fournam and Thomas Philippes, the ferwantes and agentes of Walfingham, Elizabethes fecretarie: they deale, and, by faire promefes and bribes, bringe the mater fo to paffe, that they corrupt one Gilbert Gifforde, one of the Englifh seminarie in Rhemes in Fraunce, to finde out and praftife, as he

had alredie been instructed, some crime against this ladie in captiuitie, that they might giue some cullour to ther abominable intended designes. This leude willane addresseth him selff amongest others to one Mr Paget and Morgan, pensioners to this ladie in Fraunce, and so farre fourth prewaileth he with them, that he draweth letters from boith directed to some of the Popishe factioun in England, entreatinge them to make some meanes for the deliuerie of the Queene emprefoned : and they procure some other wretes for this purpose, (as some alledge,) from the Queenes Secretaries, yea, as others saie, from her selff ; but this most false last assertion could neuer by anie meanes be prowed.

Nowe you maie perceiue the desire of Elizabeth and her counsell broughte about as they wished. The letters and ther aunswers ar giuen in Walsinghames handes, who was the cheiffe and principall agent in this busines : Howe those to whome the letters wer wretin wer apprehended, and the goode Queenes person and her serwantes all seafen vpon ; and howe her papers, goolde, jewelles, ringes, and other furniture, wer taken from her, we haue heirtofore shoven you. Thus they proceede forder, after they haue led her longe about from place to place, with all indignitie and rewilinge speeches against her, without anie forder proceffe ordourlie led, they bringe her before them, they charge her with ther foire conceiued accusatiounes which shee neuer dreamed of. Shee denieth all, but in speciall, that odious crime they imposed against her, that shee had attempted and conspired against the person of her cusinge : ther shee called God and Angelles to witnes, that that was a most odious flaunder, and that shee neuer plotted or imagined anie such thinge, nor done anie other exploite, or giuen her adwise to her preiudice ; shee saide shee did onlie that which God and nature did permitte her to do, which was to deliuer her selff, if shee could, of longe miserie of a tyrannicall emprefonment.

The Secretaries ar examined secretlie, and outragioullie threatned to

speake some thinge to the disawantage of ther mistres. Ther depofitiounes wer neuer shoven openlie, wherbye it appeareth they neuer charged her with anie thinge; they wer neuer broughte to her presence, nor anie other witnes to her preiudice, yeet for all this, the deputie Commiffioners from Elizabeth proceede to execute ther befoire concealed defignes; although their consciences tolde them, that these pretended, alledged accusatiouns and crimes was forged and inwented to ther pleasure, and at ther commaunde and warrant therto. And albeit they had beene true, yeet God had neuer apointed them to be iudges of a Soveraigne princes, a Queene borne to one kingdome, the daughter and heire of a renowned and anointed kinge, and shee her self by mariage the Queene of ane other realme more auncient both and more honourable then ewer Elizabeth, or anie her auncestoures or predecessoures wer, as is weeke knowne to all princes throughout the whole Christianitie. Shee neuer wold aknowledge them her lawefull iudges, nor Elizabeth, ther mistres, her superiour in anie thinge, as is prowed alredie in the allegatiounes and reasons sett doune alredie. Yeet her aunswers ar enrolled, without anie forder solemnitie, the cursed conspiratoures against the Lordes anointed, sent foorth from cruell Jezebell, giue sentence so false in verie deede, that beinge eshamed of it, they wold neuer suffer it to be published in particular, as is weeke knowne. The crimes wheroff they accused this ladie, and the ensuinge cruell sentence, is declared to be true by proclamatioun; shee standeth convicted, attainted; they, in ther pretended maner, degrade her of all nobilitie, honour and renoun: shee is foirfeited of the croune of England, and dominions theroff, for her and hers forewer: Heire is ther honourable proceedinge that they bragge of. Ther neuer anie witnes used in the mater. There is onlie one woorde spoken by the ladie accused, which was this, that shee foughte onlie her libertie from longesome emprefonment, tyrannicallie used against her, which God and nature gaiwe her leiwe to do.

This is all that they can alledge against her, and yet it concerneth no thinge the facts in question; for all this they exclaim against her, as the Jewes did against our Saviour, You have harde his blasphemie, what needeth anie witnesses? Such a summarie proceedinge against a Soveraigne Queene was neuer harde nor rede of, nor such a shewe and forme of iustice hath neuer beene practized, no, not against the most abiect, damnable criminall person in the world; for albeit the prisoner had confessed the crime urged against her, and avouched it with her owen mouth, yett the lawe doeth not permitt to fitte therupon in iudgment of condemnatioun, if the confession of the accused criminall be not awerred, and leane vpon other notices, and be conformed by the sayinges and depositions of witnesses. The longesome rigour of prison, disgust, and litle regarde to liue anie longer, and disdaine of the present condition, maie force a person owerweered to desire death at the handes of ther ennemie, to finishe ther former troubles and aduerse misfortunes. Death is not terrible to all: Manie do hasten ther owen death, by giuinge evidence against them selues, to see an end of ther former miseries; manie wishe it, aspiringe to a more happie liffe. All the auncient and late lawers, yea, reason it selff, do forbidde and prohibite to put anie person to death vpon a simple confession of anie person; yett beholde the honourable proceedinge of Elizabeth and her estates against her cusinge prisoner: Jezabell and her damnable crewe of cruell murderers, all deedlie ennemies to this princes, be, in steade of accusars, witnesses and judges condemninge her to death, which shee longe had looked for and expected; to giue, I saie, out the sentence of death against her, awerred onlie by her simple confession, not of the crime they accuse her of, but of a thinge which God and the lawe of nature permitted her to do, which was this, that shee minded to seeke her owen libertie, and sett her selff free of the barbarous tyrannie of her longesome imprisonment.



If shee had confessed that, to sett her selff at libertie, shee had conspired against Elizabethes life, or attempted anie mater preiudiciall to her estate, they had had some apparence of reason for ther proceedinges so summarlie. But shee hath ewer sworne vpon her honour and conscience the contrarie, yea, at werie point of death, yeeldinge her soule in the handes of her Sauoure, shee protested thus vpon her saluatioun, shee onlie fought libertie, but not to shedde anie bloode for the attaininge ther-off. But yeet to giue cullour to ther proceedinges, that they had werie honourable dealte in this mater, they signe the cruell sentence with ther handes, they fend it to the Chrifian kinge of Fraunce, to excuse them and ther mistres; they wrete vnto him thus, That the Queene of Scottes was so contrarie to her in all her actiouns, that ther liues could not be compatible and subsist together, and that it was necessarie for one of them should be assured of life and estate by the death of the other. It is woorth the notinge to shewe the falsnes of the pretended accusatiounes, that they alledge they could finde no other meanes to saiue Elizabeth aliue, but by the death of the nearest kinnifwoman shee had in the world. Fie, shameles mouthes, speake plainlie the truth! Had you not longe before premeditated and suborned, yea deuised a plotte to trape this ladie in? Your consciences and your God knoweth you did it, and that you longe before imagined amongst your selwes to putt her to death, accusinge her, and pronuncinge your sentence so cruellie against her, most iniustlie condemninge her of these thinges which shee neuer dreamed of. But ther is a righteous iudge who did beholde and see all your doinges, and her innocencie.

It is weele knowne to manie thousandes in Fraunce, that manie of your faworites and factiouns there had the copie of your cruell, dewilish sentence against the Queene of Scottes, not onlie before it was pronounced, but also before the Commiffionars had taken anie notice of the cause, and before you beganne to proceede. The Chrifian kinge, by

this meanes, came to knowe in what danger his sifter was like to be brought; and therefore, in all haste, did dispatche Mounſieur de Belliure, Councellour of Estate, towards Elizabeth, to shoue her the noweltie and insolence of this iudgement, and the iuste occasion he had to take notice theroff, if shee should proceede in the execution theroff. The enemies of the Queene of Scottes, to hinder the Lord of Belliure to haue acceſſe to ther mistres, made a false brute abroad, that he had broughte the plague from Paris, and that some of his followers were deade theroff by the waie, and some wer sicke of it. When he demaunded ludginge at London fitte for such a ambassadour as he was, it was denied him, so that he was constrained to take such ease as he could haue, to his greate coaste and charges in an inne. The daie of his audience appointed, it was put to a newe daie, and then he was but halfe harde, and rudlie interrupted almost ewerie woorde he did speake. The nexte time he came to haue audience, Elizabeth sett her selfe doune to the cardes, as disdaininge to heare him, when he propounded the rest of the mater he came for; all the aunswere shee made, beinge importuned of him, that within foure daies he should heare and see forder. In this delaie, in spite of the Christian kinges ambassadour, shee caused to be published through the citie of Londone with sounde of trumpett, and fixed vpon the postes in the streetes and markett places of the citie, the cruell sentence and iudgement, after shee had sent it to be propounded to the Queene prisoner by my Lord of Buchurst, whose grandfather did foirruene his cuntrie, leawinge Wales for stealinge of horſe, who him selfe also beinge Heigh Treasurer of England, hawinge stolen, by forgerie, a lordshipe of lande oniuſtie from a weeke meaninge knight, whome he conwented before the counsell to iustifie his falshoode and indirected proceedinge. The knight desiringe God to shoue the righte, Buchurst answered him, with an protestatioun to the counsell, that he wold make it be seene howe he iustlie had that lordshipe;

and whilles he is speakinge these woordes, and pullinge out some writtes out of his pokett, he gaiwe vp the ghoste. So honourable and iuste wer his actiounes, as his fearfull end did declare.

By Buchurft and Mr Beale, notarie apointed for the forminge of the proccesse against the Queene, I saie, was it not food to her, which, while it was signified vnto her Maiestie by woorde of mouth, and by pronouncinge by wrete in readinge it in her eares, shee neuer mowed at it, nor chaunged her countenance; but beinge all red and ended, shee saide sweetlie, shee thanked God for the honour he had apointed for her, to suffer for his name, and not for anie offence thought or committed by her against her cusinge: God forgiwe her and them all, as I do with all my hearte.

The sentence beinge notified to the Queene, is broughte backe to London, and, in signe of ioye, the belles be runge 24 houres, all the greate ordinance in the Toure is shotte, bonafires be made throughout the citie, and finallie, no thinge is lefte vndone to showe ther ioye: but since all this ioye hath beene turned into heawines, and Elizabeth, at her owen death, had no such quiett departure in the peace of conscience, nor anie that was interested in the sheddingde of this innocent bloode, as this goode ladie had. God forgiwe them all, and laie it not to ther charge.

But to returne to the mater in hande. As the French ambaffadour had no goode aunswere to his contentment in the busines he came for, ewen so the ambaffadour of the younge Kinge of Scottes, this ladies sone, that made earnest sute for the saiftie of his mothers liffe, was no better delte with, but with brawadoes anewe boith wer faced out; and in the end they had this aunswere, shee gaiwe them leawe to go, and that shee wold go about to dispatche some of hers, within fixe or eighte weekes after, to ther maisters, to make them aunswere in that they came for.

This beinge done, they proceede to the execution of the cruell sentence in forme before alledged, which I feare againe to reporte in regarde of the willanies in this ladies perfon, they hawe offered to all Soweraigne

kinges, princes and potentates, vnder the cope of heauen ; for the outrageous dealinges hath been used against her, boith before and after her death, wer so monstrosand inhumane, that the uglie monster that commaunded them to excuse her selff of them, is constrained to flie to that commune and miserable defence, that they proceeded without her priuatie, and against her meaning ; and to giue shewe to her speech, to make it seeme to hawe truth when it hath none, shee hath caused Secretarie Dauidson to be committed to the Toure of London, where shee caused him be better entertained, and liweth more at his owen ease, then if he wer at his owen house. If he did it besides her knoweledge, which shee alledged, that is, gaiwe out the warrant for the execution of this ladie, whie is he not putt to death ? and whie did shee sett her hand to it, and committ to him to keepe ? But all this is but iuglerie to dazell mennes eyes. Whie did shee not addresse her selff to her freindes Leicester, Cecile, and others that commaunded it, and not to ther flaiwe who could not do withall, nor durste not disobeie them, nor do anie thinge in this mater, beinge of greate consequence, against her and ther goode likinge, had shee not signed it with her owen hand that which brought this ladie to her graiwe ? Shee could do no more, onles shee wold hawe put her hand to execute her her selff, and be her burriue, which shee wold with all her hearte hawe done 20 yeares ago, if shee could hawe had the occasion offered her : nowe shee findeth a fitter oportunitie, when shee seeth all Christian princes compassed in ther afaires by plottes, subtilities and treasouns sturred vp [by] her against them, that none could take notice of her dewilishe tyrannie. Shee perceiued weeie, that the kinge of Spaine was so entangled in his warres of Flaunders and her theiwishe pyrates, that he could not hawe leasure to awenge him selff of her : and shee treacheroullie had sturred vp a stronge armie of Reesters to enter Fraunce to truble all there : and for this ladies sonne, then beinge younge, shee by her bribes had corrupted

one of his ambassadouris, that before he came from Berwicke, he beinge a false hearted papiste, betraide his maisters legacie, sendinge woorde by post to this Iesabell to dispatch his mistres before he came, by this emprice and note, *Mortui non mordent*, the deade bite not. And the true hearted ambassadour that lauboured with tuith and naile for his leige lord his maisters mothers liffe, shee browed him and rewiled him with all her maine and spitte, so that the dewile him selff, Machiwell, nor no other Atheist, can be able to practize anie thinge which shee hath not leste vndone for the disquetinge of the æcumenike Christian world.

Ther is one thinge which I can not omitt, which was dewised to couloure her crueltie to hawe a shewe of iuste wengeance, and to perswade the world, was certanlie resolwed and concluded, if the conspiratouris had taken place: Shee sturred vp one Mr Stafforde, brother to her Ambassadour in Fraunce, to encounter Monsieur Ambassadour Chastieu for the French kinge, (as shee pleaseth to tearme him,) and shee became so impudent that shee wold hawe confronted him to her, and giwen him Cecile and Wallinghame to be his iudges. Shee made also some to followe after Monsieur de Trapes, and bringe him backe presoner to London, takinge from him his letter which he caried for the kinge his maister; but findinge not one woorde in them which mighte make anie shewe to the alledged conspiracie, shee riddes her handes of him and dismisses him.

It was a commendable custome amongest the auncientes, that they wold first discharge ther guesstes and freindes of ther companie, to giue them notice that they did beare them no goode will, that if, perhappes, they should stand in neede to saie vnto them, they wolde not giue them anie entertainment, nor ludginge, or anie other encouragement to expect anie goode at ther handes; and so should Elizabeth hawe done to her cusinge. Shee should discharged her when shee send her woorde that shee was to come within her kingdome: shee should hawe sent her backe againe the woued gages and pledges of the mutuall amitie

and freindshipe promesed: shee should hawe send her woorde, before shee came in her cuntrie, that shee had a confederatioun with this ladies mortall ennemies and rebellis, and that shee preferred her league shee had with them before hers. But no such mater tooke shee ewer in hand; for her purpose was ewer by cunninge to allure and entise this Queene, by faire promeses in a shewe of amitie, to come to her, where shee mighte be sure with her selff; or if this did not satisfie her, shee wolde accompanie her, in her owen person, as farr fgothe as the frontiers of ther two kingedomes, and by force of armes sett her in frie and peaceable possession of her former authoritie. But howe weelee this was performed, lett the world iudge: in steade all these her faire conditionns, after shee came within her pawes, as a suppliant seekinge the promesed woued succoure, shee is ewerie waie abused, despised, reproched, and trappes laide for her liffe by poison, the fworde, and all other meanes possible, till shee is brought to her utter ruine.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .

**PRINTED BY H. AND J. PILLANS,  
EDINBURGH.**











